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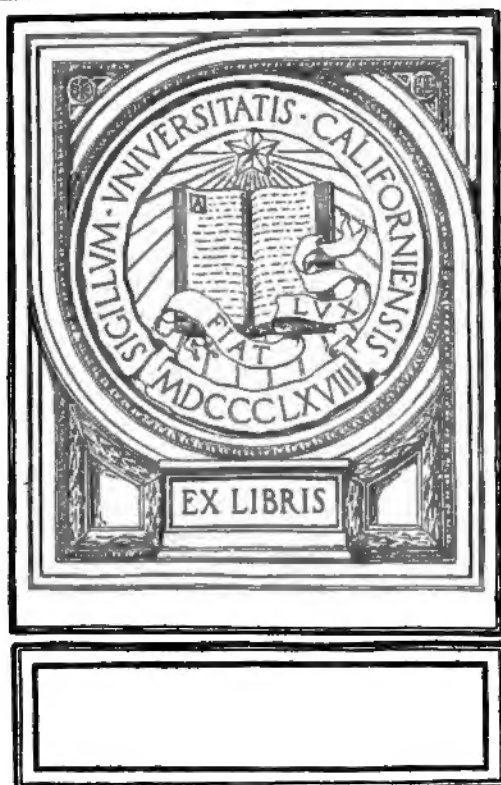
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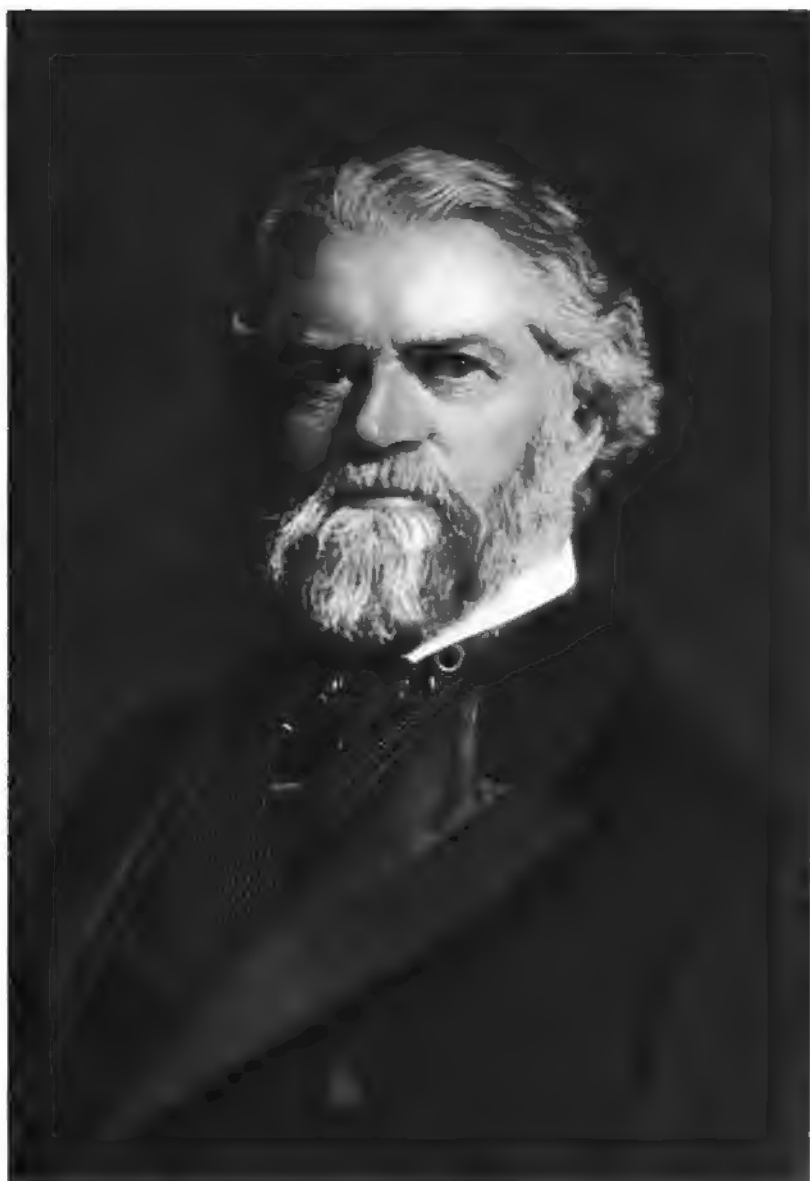
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Simon Newcomb

*Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from a portrait from life*

PUBLICATIONS
OF
The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
VOLUME XII

TRANSACTIONS
1908-1909

Printed at the Charge of the Robert Charles Billings Fund



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TO THE
LIBRARY OF

PREFACE

VOLUME XII, now completed, contains the Transactions of the Society at twelve meetings, and a portion of the record of one meeting of the Council, from January, 1908, to December, 1909, both included, in continuation of Volume XI.

The Committee gratefully acknowledges the Society's indebtedness to several institutions, and to friends and members of this Society, for permission to reproduce documents in their possession, for the gift of plates, or for other courtesies, namely: to the American Philosophical Society, the Essex Institute, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the New England Historic Genealogical Society, Doubleday, Page & Co., Mr. Francis Noyes Balch, Miss Elizabeth Lane Betton, Mr. Wilton Lockwood, Miss Susanna Willard, Miss Theodora Willard, and Messrs. Henry Winchester Cunningham, Andrew McFarland Davis, Henry Herbert Edes, Denison Rogers Slade, and Horace Everett Ware.

For the Committee of Publication,

HENRY LEFAVOUR,
Chairman.

Boston, 1 May, 1910.

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1 MAY, 1910

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*Members who have died since the publication of the preceding volume
of Transactions, with the Date of Death*

Resident

CALEB BENJAMIN TILLINGHAST, Litt.D.	28 April,	1909
Rev. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, LL.D.	10 June,	1909
JOHN NOBLE, LL.D.	10 June,	1909
Rev. ARTHUR LAWRENCE, D.D.	20 September,	1909
JAMES BARR AMES, LL.D.	8 January,	1910
MORRIS HICKY MORGAN, LL.D.	16 March,	1910

Honorary

SIMON NEWCOMB, D.C.L., F.R.S.	11 July,	1909
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DANIEL COIT GILMAN, LL.D.	13 October,	1908
WOLCOTT GIBBS, LL.D.	9 December,	1908
Rev. WILLIAM REED HUNTINGTON, LL.D. . . .	26 July,	1909
Rev. GEORGE PARK FISHER, LL.D.	20 December,	1909

TRANSACTIONS

1908-1909

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

JANUARY MEETING, 1908

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 25 January, 1908, at three o'clock in the afternoon, Vice-President WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN, D. C. L., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Report of the CORRESPONDING SECRETARY announced that a letter had been received from the Rev. WILLIAM WALLACE FENN of Cambridge accepting Resident Membership.

Two gifts of books, which were gratefully accepted, were reported: from the Boston Athenæum, a set of its publications at the charge of the Billings Fund; and from the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, a copy of a facsimile of the first Masonic book printed in the Americas.¹

¹ The title of this book is as follows:

The | Constitutions | of the | Free-Masons, | Containing the | History, Charges, Regulations, &c. | of that most Ancient and Right | Worshipful Fraternity. | For the Use of the Lodges. | London Printed; Anno 5723. | Re-printed in Philadelphia by special Order, for the Use | of the Brethren in North-America. | In the Year of Masonry 5734, Anno Domini 1734. | Reproduced in Fac-simile by the R. W. Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. | In the Year of Masonry 5906; Anno Domini 1906.

Mr. JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE of Dedham was elected a Resident Member, and Mr. JAMES KENDALL HOSMER of Washington, D. C., a Corresponding Member.

The CHAIRMAN announced the death of the Hon. JOHN CHANDLER BANCROFT DAVIS, a Corresponding Member, and spoke as follows :

JOHN CHANDLER BANCROFT DAVIS, more generally known as Bancroft Davis, one of our Corresponding Members, died in Washington, December 27, 1907, at the age of eighty-five (less two days). He was born in Worcester, Massachusetts, December 29, 1822. His father, John Davis, was a distinguished lawyer of Worcester, was twice Governor of Massachusetts, and represented the Commonwealth in both Houses of Congress. One of my earliest recollections of politics is shouting in the streets of Plymouth for "Honest John Davis." Our associate was one of the ten oldest living graduates of Harvard College, being a member of the Class of 1840.

Mr. Davis's experience in diplomatic and political life was wide and honorable. From 1849 to 1852 he was our Secretary of Legation in London, where he learned his first lesson in diplomacy and English politics. On his return to America he was the correspondent of the London Times from 1854 to 1861. During two years of this period I was in Europe, most of the time as a student in Berlin, Bonn, and Göttingen. Nearly all my information on American politics came from his valuable letters, which I read regularly without knowing who was their author. In 1869 he was Assistant Secretary of State at Washington, to which city he then removed his residence.

In 1871 Mr. Davis was Secretary of the Joint High Commission on the Alabama Claims, and afterward Agent for the United States at the Tribunal of Arbitration at Geneva. For this Court he prepared the Case of the United States, a document which alone would have made him famous. He was especially conspicuous, and made himself a benefactor in the cause of peace to his country and to the world, when the momentous crisis arose in regard to the Indirect Claims which threatened to break up the whole arbitration by the withdrawal of England from the Tribunal at Geneva. The courage and skill of Mr. Davis and of Baron Tenterden were believed by competent authorities to have saved the treaty which was before the



to B. C. 1894



John Hancock Davis

*Engraved for 'The Colonial Society of Massachusetts'
from a portrait from life*

Tribunal, and to have made possible a settlement of the dispute on a basis which was consistent with the dignity of Great Britain and the rights of the United States. I quote from a recent letter of Mr. Frank Warren Hackett, who was one of the Alabama Claims Commission, published in the Nation of January 31, 1907:

It was the tact and the stamina of Bancroft Davis that actually rescued the treaty from failure. The world may never know how large a measure of credit is due to the sagacity and nerve of both Lord Tenterden and Bancroft Davis. . . . Mutual confidence and unity of purpose enabled the Englishman and the American to work together in preparing a way by which the "Indirect Claims" could honorably be disposed of and the treaty saved. After these two men, upon their own responsibility, had struck hands, it was agreed that Mr. Davis should ask Mr. Adams to take the open and visible step leading to action by the Tribunal. Mr. Adams acted with equal skill. . . . It was this initiative act, the honor of which belongs equally to the respective Agents, that constitutes the crowning merit of Bancroft Davis's inestimable services to his country (lxxxiv. 102).

Count Sclopis, the President of the Geneva Tribunal, is reported to have afterward said: "It was the Case prepared by Mr. Davis which won the cause."

Mr. Davis's subsequent career is well known,—as Assistant Secretary of State in 1873 and 1881; as Minister to Germany in 1874; as Judge of the Court of Claims in 1877; and as Reporter of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States from 1883 till 1902, when he resigned the office at the age of eighty. His most important published works are his volume of Treaties and Conventions Entered into by the United States (1871 and 1873), and the volumes containing his Reports of the Decisions of the Supreme Court.

In 1887 Columbia University conferred on Mr. Davis the degree of Doctor of Laws.

Mr. Davis was elected a Corresponding Member of this Society December 20, 1899.

Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS read the following paper:

JOHN HARVARD'S LIFE IN AMERICA,
OR SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE IN NEW ENGLAND
IN 1637-1638.¹

The subject treated in this paper practically deals with the conditions of Harvard's life for a single year. Even this brief time cannot be restricted within exact limits. We do not know the date of Harvard's sailing from England. We do not know on what day he arrived in the Colony. The only date in this connection of which we are certain is, alas! that of his death, and for that knowledge we are dependent upon a casual entry in an almanac.² His name is not mentioned by Winthrop in his Journal and, except for a memorandum found among Winthrop's papers and published by Savage in the Addenda to the Journal,³ we should not know that the Governor had ever heard of him. In justice, however, to Winthrop it should be added that the mere existence of the memorandum suggests that it was made with intent to incorporate its substance in the Journal, and then by oversight the entry was omitted.

The various contemporaneous publications which mention Harvard's name, while they speak of him as a scholarly and pious man, add nothing to our knowledge of his life, and it is not until we reach the verbose and pedantic *Magnalia* of Cotton Mather that we learn from one who wrote sixty years after Harvard's death, that the disease which carried him off was consumption.⁴ When Mather wrote, the College had already acquired renown. Increase Mather, the father of the author of *Magnalia*, was glad, when the occasion came his way, to assume charge of its affairs, and he availed himself of the opportunity to acquire from his Alma Mater the degree of D.D.⁵ Cotton

¹ This paper was originally prepared to be read as a part of the memorial exercises at Cambridge which were held under the auspices of the Harvard Memorial Society, in honor of the three hundredth anniversary of Harvard's birth. The material then collated relative to the construction of houses, etc., when worked into shape proved to be far in excess of the demands for the occasion, so that the paper had to be much abridged in reading; but in submitting it to the Colonial Society with a view to publication, the rejected matter has been restored.

² Winthrop's Journal, ii. 88, note by Savage.

³ Ibid. ii. 342.

⁴ *Magnalia* (1853), ii. 10.

⁵ Cotton Mather gives his father's argument in full, as to the power of the College to confer degrees, in *Magnalia*, ii. 19, 20, and the degree itself, ii. 26.

Mather himself is supposed to have aspired to the Presidency of the College of which he also was a graduate. This testimony to the high estimate of the institution at that time by the Mathers was not perhaps needed, but its recital will bring before us the important fact that the author of *Magnalia*, when he omitted John Harvard from the list of worthies whose lives he undertook to write, and contented himself with a mere reference to him in his description of the College, must have been conscious of his offence.

A tithe of the diligence which he bestowed in gleaning facts about the lives of the governors, the clergymen of New England, and the Harvard graduates, would have enabled him to preserve upon his pages many facts concerning the Charlestown life of the founder of the College which we should treasure to-day. The only new item concerning Harvard himself to be obtained from *Magnalia* is that which I have quoted. It must be added, however, that the author states the amount of Harvard's bequest to the College in pounds, shillings and pence; that he speaks of Harvard as a minister of the Gospel, and that he prints an elegiac poem by John Wilson which, although it contains some errors of statement, is nevertheless helpful.¹

For what information Mather gave, let us be thankful, and from that let us turn to what we can positively ascertain from the records, and what we may infer from current history.

Harvard's presence in England February the sixteenth, 1637, can be demonstrated. On the fifth of May of the same year the will of his brother Thomas, of which he was one of the executors, was duly probated. The will was allowed and power to execute it was conferred upon his co-executor, with a reservation of like power for Harvard "when he should come to seek it." The inference is plain that he was not on hand to resign the executorship, and the presumption is that this absence was to be explained by the fact that between February sixteenth and May fifth he had sailed for New England.

On the other hand, the Charlestown Records bear testimony to his presence in that place on the first of August of the same year, when he was admitted a townsman.² It is quite certain that this affiliation with the settlers — a necessary concomitant at that time for the residence in Charlestown of one of his profession — must have been taken

¹ *Magnalia*, ii. 10, 30.

² *Boston Record Commissioners' Reports*, vol. iii. p. iv.

promptly after arrival. There was a statute of the General Court then in force which prevented inhabitants of any of the towns from harboring for a longer period than three weeks, strangers who came with intent to reside, except under allowance of certain designated authorities.¹ Obviously, newly arrived immigrants would, if their consciences permitted, hasten to put themselves on record as being in sympathy with the governing powers. It is safe, therefore, to assert that Harvard must have arrived at Charlestown in the latter part of July, 1637. Assuming that he sailed early in May, this would make his voyage cover a period of about twelve weeks. This would not have been considered a very long ocean trip in those days. Hence, we may rest assured that this estimate of the time of sailing and arrival is reasonably close, so that the discovery of the name of the vessel in which he sailed and the publication of her log would not alter materially our conception of the dates connected with the voyage. The third of these dates, that of his death, is fixed at September 14, 1638. The entire term of his life in America was, therefore, about thirteen and one-half months.

About four weeks after his arrival, on the thirtieth of August, 1637, a Synod was held at Cambridge—or Newtown, as it was then called. We are told that "all the teaching Elders through the Country were present, and some new come out from England, not yet called to any place here."² The meeting is described as having been "peaceable and concluded comfortably in love." We may infer from the stress put upon these words that this conclusion was probably unexpected. Harvard was at that time "new come out from England," and it is quite certain that he could not then have been called to any place here. The statement that some of those similarly situated with himself were present at the Synod is practically equivalent to saying that he was there. No newly arrived clergyman whose health and circumstances permitted could have failed to avail himself of the opportunity to meet there the assembled pastors of the Colony, and to hear them discuss the doctrinal points which were disturbing themselves and their congregations. It necessarily follows that he must at that time have seen the spot with which his name has since become so conspicuously associated. His route from Charlestown to Cambridge

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 196.

² Winthrop's Journal, i. 237.

would have been by the path called in the early Cambridge Records "the Way to Charlestown." If we accept President Wadsworth's location within the Yard of the lot granted by the town to the College, which was said in the town records to be north of the "Way to Charlestown," we must reach the conclusion that Harvard's path, if he came to Cambridge to the Synod, led him through the Ox Pasture to the Common — or if he were to cover the same ground to-day, directly through the heart of the College Yard into Harvard Square by way of the Johnston Gate.¹ Cambridge was described by a contemporaneous writer as like a "bowling green," and we can fancy the pleasure which he derived from contemplating the beauties of the scene, as he strode or rode along, — for he probably came over from Charlestown either on foot or on horseback, and perhaps as he looked around his mental vision conjured up a future College there. The site had not then been selected, but it was voted a few weeks thereafter that it should be Newtown, showing that attention had already been turned that way.

If by any unfortunate chance he was prevented from visiting Cambridge on the occasion of the Synod, still, he must have seen the little village on the second of November of that year, when he and four others, at a session of the General Court at that place, were admitted as freemen, and as the record goes on to state "took the freeman's oath."² Four days after this event Harvard and his wife were admitted to membership in the Charlestown Church,³ thus completing the essential acts on his part for admission to the elect in Massachusetts by becoming successively — townsman — freeman — churchman.

Having taken these preliminary steps, he could now attend to his own affairs with a reasonable assurance of being let alone. It is not

¹ In "The Site of the First College Building at Cambridge," in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1888, the "Way to Charlestown" is identified with Kirkland Street, and the inference is drawn that the town grant was north of Kirkland Street, as it is now laid out. There can be but little doubt that Kirkland Street represents the "Way to Charlestown," but whether the way was not from time to time removed from place to place is another question. President Wadsworth's location of the town grant within the Yard shows his opinion, and my own later views are expressed in "The College in Early Days," in the Harvard Graduates' Magazine for April, 1893.

² Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 206.

³ Records of the First Church in Charlestown, Boston, 1880, p. 9.

surprising, therefore, to find that he disappears from public notice until the next spring, and although we know absolutely nothing of what he was doing during that period, it may be assumed that his first efforts were put forth toward providing a permanent residence in Charlestown for himself and his wife. It is not known when he became associated as a colleague with Zachariah Symmes, the pastor of the Charlestown Church, but it is not unlikely to have followed promptly the various steps which he had taken to identify himself with the town and the church.

In April, 1638, he had become sufficiently well known to his fellow-townsmen to receive at their hands an appointment as one of a committee of six who were "desired to consider of some things tending toward a body of laws."¹ His selection upon such a committee as this indicates that he had not yet succumbed to the inroads of the disease which carried him off a few months thereafter, and also helps to define his position upon a question which was then puzzling the brains of those who were administering the affairs of the Colony.

I have spoken of his official relations with the Charlestown parish as though it were positively known that such relations existed. As a matter of fact, there is no contemporaneous entry in the Church records which refers to Harvard's connection with the parish as teaching elder or clergyman. In 1789, the then pastor of the Church made an entry to that effect.² This accords with the statements of contemporary authors, and its place in the parish records gives it a quasi official character. Frothingham quotes apparently from the town records the phrase "Sometime Minister of God's word here," applied to Harvard.³ The learned author of *Magnalia* quotes an elegy from the pen of the Rev. John Wilson — a clergyman who was settled over the First Church in Boston at the time when Harvard was in Charlestown — which was addressed "to the most pious and reverend John Harvard, borne from the sacred desk at Charlestown to the skies."⁴

¹ "The 26 of the ii. month" (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, vol. iii. p. iv.).

² Records of the First Church in Charlestown, p. 165.

³ Frothingham's History of Charlestown, p. 74.

⁴ In Pientissimum, Reverendissimumque virum, Johannem Harvardum, & suggestio Sacro Caroloensi ad coelos evectum (*Magnalia*, ii. 33).

This makes it sure that Harvard was settled over the Charlestown parish at the time of his death, and renders it probable that he preached in the Great House originally built for Winthrop, but sold by him for £10 to the town for a meeting-house.¹

The statement is made that Harvard was allotted land and that he built a house in Charlestown, and Frothingham distinctly asserts that he participated in the allotments of 1637-1638.² It happens that the folio in the Book of Possessions at Charlestown, which through index entries is known to have contained a record of Harvard's estate, is missing.³ It is the only folio in the book that is gone, and since it is of more value to the world than all the rest of the book, we can only wonder at the unlucky chance which should have selected that particular leaf for destruction. Notwithstanding the loss of this desirable source of information, the Book of Possessions furnishes abundant evidence that Harvard was a land-owner, and not only that, but it is plain that his holdings of real estate were extensive. We gain this information through the definitions of the boundaries of the property of others. Harvard's name appears in the Book of Possessions upwards of twenty times as an abutter. His widow figures five or six times in a similar way, sometimes as Widow Harvard, sometimes as Mrs. Ann Harvard.

Through these descriptions the general location of the property can be identified and in some cases its character is evident. Some of it was in Mystic field, some in Water field, some in East field, some in Line field, i. e. in a field adjoining the Cambridge line. Some of it was in the Mystic marshes. The various grants or purchases, for we have no evidence how the property was acquired, comprised woodland, arable land, meadow and marshes. In one of these abutting descriptions describing the adjoining land is this phrase: "120 acres of land, more or less, situated in Waterfield, bought of Mrs. Harvard, and entered before in her name." In another, the words are: "Ten acres firstly appertaining to Mr. John Harvard." It is, therefore, evident

¹ Frothingham's *History of Charlestown*, p. 55.

² Frothingham further says that in another division his lot was nearly a third larger than that of Mr. Symmes, and adds that on November 27, 1637, he had a grant of three and a half feet of ground for a portal (*History of Charlestown*, p. 74).

³ *Boston Record Commissioners' Reports*, vol. iii. p. iv.

that, however acquired, whether by grant or by purchase, Harvard must have had a good deal of land within the limits of Charlestown.

As to the house in which he lived, we have this to guide us. In January, 1697, Judge Sewall spent the night in Charlestown, and he records the fact that Mrs. Shepherd told him that the house in which he slept was built by John Harvard.¹ Mrs. Shepherd was the wife of the clergyman then settled over the Charlestown parish. Her say-so would not necessarily be final in determining whether Harvard had ever lived in the house, were it not that she acquired the property from Mrs. Thomas Allen. Mrs. Allen was Harvard's widow, and Allen had himself been settled over the Charlestown parish, having probably succeeded Harvard in his functions as clergyman or teacher, as he certainly did as husband of Ann Sadler, Harvard's widow. He is undoubtedly the Allen whose name appears in the records of the College as having paid £200 to Eaton, and with whom a committee was appointed by the College in 1643 to effect a final settlement of the bequest.² Unquestionably this sum was from Harvard's estate, of which he was executor or administrator. The line of evidence that connects Harvard with the house in which Sewall slept is therefore fairly direct, and is not open to dispute. The site of the house is well known. The assertion that Harvard built it may perhaps have been an interpolation of Sewall's, although there is no special reason for this suggestion. The statement is not in itself improbable. Immigration was active at that time. There were not enough houses to accommodate those who arrived. The advice given by Higginson, writing from Salem a few years before, was still applicable:

No man hath or can have a house built for him, unless he come himself or else sends servants before to do it for him.³

The one chance that intervenes to throw a possible doubt upon Harvard's having built his house, is that he might have purchased it. The colonists were a restless set and transfers of houses are of frequent record. The missing folio in the Book of Possessions would probably have settled this question.

¹ Diary, i. 446, 447.

² Quincy's History of Harvard University, i. 48, facsimile of the record.

³ Hutchinson's Collection of Original Papers, p. 49.

A landholder and a householder — we might perhaps have doubted whether the victim of pulmonary consumption in the fall of 1638 would in the winter of 1637-1638 have been strong enough to build a house, were it not for the quotation from the record to which I have already referred, which shows that his fellow-townsmen considered him in the latter part of April, 1638, in fit condition to serve upon a committee, the importance of which can only be estimated by an examination of the politics of the Colony at that time. As briefly as may be let us review the facts which led up to the political conditions at the time of Harvard's arrival. Let us see who was then in power and who it was that was to be opposed by this committee who were "to consider some things tending towards a body of laws for the Colony."

When Endicott came over here with his group of emigrants, he came as a member of the Church of England, with no intimation that the hostility to the formalities of the church which prompted this emigration would lead to separation from the Mother Church. He was at the head of affairs in the Colony and may perhaps properly be termed Governor of the Colony, although the Governor of the Company was at that time in London.

When Winthrop arrived he brought with him the Charter and a commission which placed him at the head of the Colony as well as of the Company. Endicott had before Winthrop's arrival already thrown off his allegiance to the Church of England by eliminating the ritual and had actually banished two prominent men, members of the Company, because they were not willing to abandon altogether the use of the Prayer Book in the Church service.¹

Winthrop probably knew of this arbitrary and important proceeding, when on the seventh of April, 1630, on board the *Arbella* he, with others, addressed an open letter "to the rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England,"² in which they said "we beseech you therefore by the mercies of the Lord Jesus to consider us as your brethren, standing in very great need of your helpe, and earnestly imploring it." "We beseech you," they further said, "to pray for us without ceasing (who are a weake colony from yourselves) making continual request for us in your prayers."

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 408; Palfrey's *History of New England*, i. 298; Neal's *History of New England*, i. 129, 130.

² Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts* (1795), i. 431.

They then went on to intimate that there might be some of the brethren who would not have a clear intelligence of their course or tenderness of affection towards them. Such as felt that way were entreated not to despise the colonists, and their compassion was besought. In other words, while still claiming to be members of the Church, the knowledge of the imminence of the break is evident in this letter. The pretence that no separation was intended was maintained even after the election of John Wilson as their teacher. Winthrop says:

We used imposition of hands, but with this protestation by all, that it was only as a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England.¹

Whether Endicott's act of secession was approved at the time or not, no step back was ever taken to check its effects, and the Puritan emigrants became practically Separatists and their church a Congregational Church.² It was, then, to a Colony dominated by a Congregational Church that Harvard knowingly turned his footsteps.³

Winthrop was elected Governor after his arrival in 1630 for three consecutive years, 1631-1633. Then dissatisfaction with his rule led to his overthrow, and during the next three years experiments were made with weaker men. Thomas Dudley, John Haynes, and Henry Vane were the successive Governors during these years.

The last of these, when he arrived in the Colony, bore the prestige of an honored name, his father Sir Henry Vane being at that time a distinguished man, holding high office in England. Although the son on reaching New England in the fall of 1635 was not yet twenty-five years of age, he was almost at once selected as a suitable candidate for the highest office in the Colony — as one around whom the

¹ Journal, i. 33.

² Winthrop, writing in 1633 of the proceedings against Saltonstall, Humphry, and Cradock, says that "the defendants were dismissed with a favorable order for their encouragement, being assured by some of the Council, that his Majesty did not intend to impose the ceremonies of the Church of England upon us; for that it was considered that it was the freedom from such things that made people come over to us" (Journal, i. 103).

³ His description in his mother's will as "clarke" and in his marriage licence as "cllicum," carries with it the probability that he was ordained in the Anglican Church.

discontents could rally — and at the next election he was duly elected Governor. It was during his term of office that Mrs. Hutchinson held the series of meetings at her house in Boston, which resulted in her being tried the next year for heresy and sentenced to banishment from the Colony. Strongly in sympathy with her were John Cotton, probably the most distinguished preacher in Boston at that time, and John Wheelwright. The latter was banished as a result of his adherence to his opinions, but the former when interrogated as to his support of the doctrines of Mrs. Hutchinson, so far hedged that he avoided the same fate. During these proceedings all Boston was in a turmoil of excitement, and while it was at its height Vane's term of office expired. At the new election he was turned down; the old régime of Winthrop was restored; and Vane was humiliated by being dropped out of the magistracy.¹

It will readily be understood that an election held under these conditions could not be entirely free from fears of disturbance. Vane's support for re-election came mainly from Boston. Winthrop who opposed him relied upon the country, and as he feared interference on the part of the people of Boston if the election should be held in that place he secured the passage of an order that the Court for that purpose should be held at Cambridge.

The accounts of the election itself strongly suggest a situation corresponding in many points with that which occurred at Springfield at a recent nominating convention. Perhaps the language of one of the chroniclers of the event, himself a candidate at the time, will more clearly portray the fact that politics have not changed much since 1637:

There was great danger of a tumult that day, for those of that side grew into fierce speeches, and some laid hands on others; but seeing themselves too weak, they grew quiet.²

Vane, fresh from the pomp of the English Court, had been in the habit of marching to church on Sundays with an escort of four ser-

¹ Winthrop's Journal, i. 219, 220.

² Ibid. i. 220. The proceedings this day were replete with interest. Winthrop baffled Vane's attempt at delay and finally compelled him against his will to proceed with the election by threatening to assume charge of the meeting himself, if Vane would not yield to the desires of the majority.

geants bearing halberds. These sergeants were all supporters of Vane, and when Winthrop, the new Governor, sought their escort, they refused to give it.¹

The tumultuous election followed by the petty insult of the sergeants to the new Governor, were evidence enough of the bitterness of the contest, but to make more significant the fact that Winthrop had lost his hold upon the affections of the people of Boston, they immediately elected Vane a deputy. This election was disallowed by the General Court, and a new election ordered. Again Vane was elected, and this time he was permitted to serve, "the Court not finding how they might reject him" as Winthrop naïvely remarks.²

One other incident which happened that summer illustrates the intensity of personal animosity engendered by these quarrels. In June there arrived Lord Ley, then a young man of about twenty years of age, the son and heir of the Earl of Marlborough. He took lodgings in a common inn and declined the courteous invitation of Governor Winthrop to make his headquarters at the Governor's house. In the early part of July, the Governor extended to Lord Ley an invitation to dine, and in a friendly way tendered the same courtesy to Vane. He records that they both not only refused to come, but at the same hour went over to Noddle's Island to dine with Mr. Maverick.³

These proceedings made evident to Winthrop and his followers that the great immigration to the Colony, notwithstanding the limitation of the franchise to freemen, was undermining their power. To render doubly secure the limitations already imposed, and to perpetuate them through control over temporary as well as permanent residents, the Act was passed ~~which has already been referred to~~, imposing a penalty on all those who should harbor strangers for over three weeks, unless they were properly endorsed by the designated authorities. ^(red) Already the efforts to protect the community from the evil effects of heretical doctrines by the banishment or disfranchisement of their exponents had furnished abundant ground for the charge of intolerance. The passage of this Act testified to the justice of the charge. Boston was the place of landing for those who were to be affected by it, and Boston was indignant. When the Court then

¹ Winthrop's Journal, i. 220.

² Ibid. i. 220.

³ Ibid. i. 232.

in session at Cambridge adjourned, and Winthrop returned to his home, his neighbors, instead of turning out to receive the Governor and escort him to his house, "refused to go out to meet him or show him any respect."¹ Hutchinson records that at this session an Act was passed disqualifying any person from acting as Governor until he had been in the Colony a full year.² This was, of course, a hit at Vane, and doubtless had to do with the reception of Winthrop on his return home. The Governor had, however, prevailed, and a few days after Harvard's arrival in the Colony, Vane, defeated and humiliated, folded his tent, went on board ship, and sailed for England.

If I have succeeded in conveying even a faint conception of the political tumult in Massachusetts in the fall of 1637, it will be appreciated that when Harvard landed he must at once have realized how difficult it would be for any person who intended residing anywhere near Boston to avoid taking part in this contest. The defeated Vane was to the last the recipient of honors from his supporters. They followed him to his ship in great numbers, and if Harvard himself did not see, as he may have done, this popular demonstration in Vane's favor, he must at least have heard the volleys of musketry and the thunder of the ordnance, discharged from shore and even from the Castle,³ which announced to those in the neighborhood, whether actually present at the scene or not, that the person thus honored was about to depart from this shore. Contemporary opinion as to Vane's departure may be inferred from a line from Johnson:

With small defeat, thou didst retreat to Brittain ground again.⁴

Up to that time the government of the Colony had been carried on under the general powers conferred in the Charter, through the General Court; through the oversight of the affairs of the towns by officers selected by the townsmen, who were oftentimes forced by

¹ Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, i. 64. Winthrop's account is: "None of them met him & the Sergeants who had escorted the former Governor refused to perform that service for him alleging that such service had been performed on account of the man not the place" (*Journal*, i. 234).

² Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, i. 65.

³ Winthrop's *Journal*, i. 235.

⁴ *Wonder-working Providence* (1867), p. 72.

penalties, to undertake their duties of office; and through Church discipline. A few statutes had been passed, some of them however being only temporary in their nature. Justices of the peace had been appointed who had like powers given them with those in England for the reformation of abuses and punishment of offenders,¹ and with the increasing population sessions of quarter courts had been instituted. Wages had been fixed. Prices on certain articles had been restricted. Sumptuary legislation had been instituted.² Offenders who had committed offences which had been for all time recognized in England as crimes were punished, the penalties being apparently fixed arbitrarily by the Court of Assistants and in some cases offences were treated as seditious and criminal which it would be difficult to classify under an ordinary criminal code. For instance, Philip Ratcliffe was ordered to be whipped, to have his ears cut off, to be fined £40, and to be banished out of this jurisdiction, for uttering malicious and scandalous speeches against the government and the Church of Salem.³

It will not be wondered at that the people were restless under this condition of affairs. They clamored for a code of laws. They wanted the government organized. They were not content merely with the General Court of the Company under the Charter, but they wanted some definition to be given of the rights of individuals; of property rights; of crimes, and of penalties. This was the spirit that prompted the formation of the committee of the Charlestown townsmen of which Harvard was a member. But this did not correspond with the views of John Winthrop, who had just dethroned and humiliated Vane and driven him from the Colony; who at the expense of great turbulence in Boston had succeeded in causing the banishment of Mrs. Hutchinson and Wheelwright, and in effecting the disarmament of

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 74.

² Ibid. i. 74, 76, 77, 79, 91, 109, 160 (wages); 126, 183 (sumptuary laws).

³ Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 88. Thomas Dexter was in March, 1632-33, set in the bilboes, disfranchised and fined 40 s. for reproachful and seditious words against the Government here established, and for finding fault to divers with the Acts of the Court, and for saying "this captious goff will bring all to naught, adding that the best of them was but an attorney" (ibid. i. 103).

Capt. John Stone, in September, 1633, for "confronting aucthority, abusing M^r Ludlowe both in words and behaviur, assailing him & calling him a iust as," was fined £100 and prohibited "comeing into this pattent, wthout leaue of the Gouernm^t, vnder the penalty of death" (ibid. i. 108).

many of their followers;¹ and who in addition had nearly overthrown that popular preacher John Cotton. Once more in power, he and the majority of the magistrates were opposed to granting this wish of the people.

He himself writes in 1639: "The people had long desired a body of laws, and thought their condition very unsafe, while so much power rested in the discretion of the magistrates." He adds:

Two great reasons there were, which caused most of the magistrates and some of the elders not to be very forward in this matter. One was, want of sufficient experience of the nature and disposition of the people, considered with the condition of the country and other circumstances, which made them conceive, that such laws would be fittest for us which should arise *pro re nata* upon occasions, etc., and so the laws of England and other states grew, and therefore the fundamental laws of England are called customs, *consuetudines*. 2. For that it would professedly transgress the limits of our charter, which provide, we shall make no laws repugnant to the laws of England, and that we were assured we must do.

Then, having laid down the proposition that their legislation would inevitably be repugnant to the laws of England, he goes on to argue the point, saying:

But to raise up laws by practice and custom had been no transgression; as in our church discipline, and in matters of marriage, to make a law, that marriages should not be solemnized by ministers, is repugnant to the laws of England; but to bring it to a custom by practice for the magistrates to perform it is no law made repugnant to it, etc.²

Here, then, is Winthrop's creed. Let us have no code, so long as we can help it, but let us go ahead and establish customs. Let us pass only such laws as shall be required by occasions, and he exemplified his meaning by attaching to the first ordinance entered in the Boston Records words asserting that the ordinance "is but a declaration of the Common Law."³

Now, as people looked around they could not only see such cases

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 211, 212.

² Journal, i. 322, 323.

³ Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ii. (second edition) 1.

of punishment as the one which I have quoted above, but in addition to arbitrary punishments for ordinary crimes, others like the following.

Thomas Walford was living at Charlestown in the only house then built, when Endicott's party arrived. The next year, after Winthrop's arrival, he was fined forty shillings, and he and his wife were enjoined to depart out of the limits of this patent before the twentieth of October next following under pain of confiscation of his goods, for his contempt of authority and confronting officers.¹

Thomas Morton of Mount Wollaston, another resident of this region, who was living in his own house when Winthrop arrived here, was ordered by the Court to be put in the bilboes and then to be sent to England on the ship Gift. All of his goods were ordered to be seized to meet his debts and to pay an Indian for a canoe which it was alleged he had appropriated. After his goods were removed from his house, it was to be burnt to the ground.²

Sir Christopher Gardiner, another prior resident of this region, was sent to England as a prisoner on the ship Lion. Gardiner was one of a number of persons deported on the Lion.³

In short, persons obnoxious to the government; those who preached heretical opinions; those who attacked the Church; and those who confronted officers, were deported or banished. They could not even transfer their real estate. Such transfers, unless approved by the town authorities, were set aside, and those concerned in them fined.

In addition to the definite offences, enumerated above, there were certain that were indefinite, the probable punishment of which was only to be measured through such threats as these — if any man shall exceed the bounds of moderation we shall punish them severely — the final words of a statute regulating trade.⁴ The right of a man to carry money or beaver with him to England was made dependent upon the consent of the Governor for the time being.⁵

This was apparently the sort of Common Law that Winthrop wanted to work out, and it is evident that some of it was not altogether

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 86.

² Ibid. i. 75.

³ Ibid. i. 83.

⁴ Ibid. i. 111.

⁵ Ibid. i. 93.

acceptable to the colonists.¹ The presence of John Harvard on the committee appointed to do what they could to secure a code of laws would indicate that he sympathized with the movement to procure some recognition of the rights of the people and that his name was to be registered among those whom Winthrop himself described as being of opinion that "their condition was very unsafe while so much power rested in the discretion of the Magistrates."

Harvard had arrived too late to take part in the conflict between Vane and Winthrop, although he must constantly have heard their names and those of Mrs. Hutchinson and Cotton and Wheelwright in the daily interchange of news with his neighbors which then took the place of the morning newspaper. The trials before the General Court in November of that year must have been followed with eagerness by all the colonists, and even after the excommunication of Mrs. Hutchinson, in the final trial before the Church in the spring of 1638, the whole subject must have continued to be of public interest. Especially was this the case in Boston, where Winthrop was in disfavor, his following being recorded to be of the country, and the open evidence of dislike with which he met having taken place in that town. That a resident of Charlestown must have realized that the sympathies of the people across the river were with those who had been defeated at the polls is a certainty. When the election was held, Winthrop forced the holding of it at Cambridge, against the opposition of Vane. Charlestown was probably too near Boston to suit his purposes, and perhaps the people there sympathized with their neighbors.

Out of all this has come a general impression that Winthrop was the representative of intolerance and even of persecution. Naturally those who were opposed to him pose in public estimation as the advocates of toleration and freedom.² Plymouth Colony gave refuge to

¹ The situation was sized up by Chalmers in the following words:

The colonists became at length dissatisfied with adjudications various and contrary, since every magistrate decided according to the equity of his own mind, without established laws to inform his judgment, or former precedents to direct his practice. Dissatisfaction soon swelled into clamor, and continued complaint produced ultimate reformation (Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the American Colonies, Boston, 1845, i. 50).

² Winthrop himself contended that he was not in favor of a rigorous execution of the orders against those who were merely residents. He stated "that it was his judgment, that, in the infancy of the plantations, justice should be admin-

some of the exiles from this Colony, and later the settlement at Rhode Island, under the direction of Roger Williams, became a sort of Cave of Adullam for the discontents banished from Massachusetts Bay. Both of these settlements were far more liberal than Massachusetts Bay. This adds to the disposition to regard all opponents of the Winthrop régime as liberals. When therefore we find Harvard appointed on a committee to forward the preparation of a code of laws, in known opposition to the wishes of the great leader of the Colony, then at the height of his power, we are prone to think of him as sympathizing with Cotton and Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson, an attitude highly improbable for the colleague of Zachariah Symmes, or for one whom John Wilson could eulogize. We involuntarily give to this opposition a character to which it is probably not entitled, and credit the opponents of Winthrop with being apostles of freedom. Success on Vane's part at the polls in Cambridge in the fall of 1637 might have reversed these reputations, but we must accept things as we find them, with the result that in this appointment on the Charlestown committee we find Harvard identified with a movement of progress which brought him in opposition, on this point at least, with the leader of those who represent to us the spirit of intolerance.

I have dwelt at some length upon the Charlestown committee for the reason that it is the only recorded event which brings us in touch with Harvard's relations to his fellow-townsmen. Moreover, it is important in showing his estimate of the rights of his fellow-citizens. They were entitled to have a settled government. They were entitled to have a fixed set of laws. They were entitled to be protected from the caprice of the magistrates.

*Me commune bonum, præsertim gloria Christi,
Impulit et charæ posteritatis amor.*

These words from John Wilson's elegy, words written by a contemporary who certainly knew all about him, with the purpose of characterizing the man, are singularly appropriate and are fully justified

istered with more lenity than in a settled state;" and after some discussion he acknowledged "that he was convinced, that he had failed in over much lenity and remissness and would endeavor (by God's assistance), to take a more strict course hereafter" (Journal, i. 178).

by what has just been said. The editor of the 1853 edition of the *Magnalia* translates the lines as follows:

The common weal, the glory of my God,
The love of man — these lured me where I trod.¹

The emphasis placed by Wilson upon Harvard's piety is lost in this translation, and it is noticeable also that it was the love of posterity, not merely the love of his contemporaries which impelled — not lured — him to take the steps that he did.

One other contemporary, Thomas Shepard, who also must have known him well, characterized him in an epigrammatic sentence of almost identical import:

This man was a scholar, and pious in his life, and enlarged toward the country, and the good of it, in life and death.²

We have here testimony as to his scholarship, his piety, his public spirit, and his benevolence. From another contemporaneous source we gain an idea as to the character and quality of his preaching. A single line from some verses in Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence* gives us an estimate of his powers in this line, furnished by one who must have heard him when in his own pulpit at Charlestown. The poet addresses Harvard and exhorts him to tell how sweet among the saints, Christ has ravished his heart with heavenly joys, —

To preach and pray, with tears affection strong.

He was not, then, to adopt a contemporaneous epithet, a "painful" preacher but was of the emotional type. Elsewhere, Johnson uses somewhat similar language when speaking of Shepard's preaching. One of Shepard's hearers, the author says, "was faine to hang down the head often, least his watry eyes should blab abroad the secret conjunction of his affections."³ Many of Shepard's sermons have been preserved. Their perusal to-day does not promote "watry eyes" in the sense in which the author of *Wonder-working Providence* meant to imply that actual hearers were affected. We cannot, however,

¹ *Magnalia*, ii. 33.

² *Autobiography*, p. 64.

³ *Wonder-working Providence*, p. 103.

overlook the fact that Shepard had a wonderful hold upon his people, and if we do not find in his printed sermons adequate cause for his great force in the community, we must seek for the explanation in his winning personality, in his manners, in the mutual sympathy between himself and his congregation, and in the identity of their religious beliefs. Nor does the similarity of Johnson's language in epitomizing the style of two different men greatly minimize the descriptive value of his account. He must have been familiar with the methods of both Harvard and Shepard. We have no published works of the former to which we can turn, but a single phrase in one of Shepard's sermons gives a hint as to what he evidently did not like. "People are naturally moved sometimes," he says, "by a thundering minister."¹

These contemporary descriptions of Harvard and of his preaching, when collated, tend greatly to reduce the evasive character of his personality. They bring before us a scholarly and pious man; an emotional preacher; a public spirited citizen, and a generous benefactor; one who was selected by his fellow-citizens for service on an important committee, where both steadfastness and moral courage were required if aught was to be accomplished, and this at a time when his health must have been precarious. An open-minded man withal, as we may infer, from his willingness to study the opinions of his opponents, which is disclosed in the number of books by Jesuit authors, placed by himself upon the shelves of his library.

It would obviously be an unauthorized flight of imagination to go farther and intimate that this foreshadows sympathy with the spirit which led Dunster to insert as a motto for the College the word *Veritas* in the rude sketch of a proposed seal drawn a few years thereafter in the College Hall on a page of a College Record Book. Nevertheless, the deference to the opinions of those who differed from him shown in the purchase of books for his library, may, perhaps, justify the opinion that he would have endorsed the action of Dunster in thus pledging the College to the inflexible propagation of the truth — whatever the consequences — whatever the prejudices that must be trampled down!

I have now exhausted the record of the traces which Harvard left

¹ Certain Select Cases Resolved, p. 49.

behind him in life. His death revealed the direction in which his thoughts were turned. One half of his estate was left to the inchoate College to be established at Newtown. It matters not whether the exact amount of the bequest as stated by Mather, £779 17s 2d, was correct or not.¹ It matters not that the receipt in full of the amount by the College cannot be discovered. The fact that he bequeathed a sum estimated at the time at about £800 is testified to by nearly all the contemporaneous writers on New England affairs. The records show that some of it at least was received, and there is no good ground for the quibble upon which the doubt as to the value of the estate was founded. The financial records of the College at that day have not been preserved in such shape that any inferences can be drawn from the fact that no acknowledgment of the receipt of an amount equal to the alleged bequest can be found. Whatever the value of the estate, it was enough to secure the organization of the College at once, and its instrumentality in that direction was recognized in the following spring by the passage of an Act assigning the name "Harvard College" to the little institution at Cambridge, whose inception had been hastened through the bequest. Had there been issued in the summer of 1638 an edition of "Who's Who in America," Harvard's name would not have appeared in it. He had published nothing. He had done nothing to make himself conspicuous. But the philanthropic motive which inspired the bequest, secured for him posthumous fame. It would seem as if, in taking this step, he might with prophetic insight, have had in mind the lines —

What shall I do to be forever known,
And make the age to come, my own?

// Let us now ask ourselves what manner of place was this to which Harvard had come? How many people were there in the Colony and what were the conditions of life?

¹ The memorandum made by Winthrop and published by Savage in the *Addenda* reads: "Mr. Harvard gave to the College about £800" (Winthrop's Journal, ii. 342). The author of *New England's First Fruits*, p. 12, says "one halfe of his estate, (being in all £1700) towards the erecting of a college, and all his Library." Thomas Shepard says, "The Lord put it into the heart of one Mr. Harvard, who dyed worth £1600 to give halfe his estate to the erecting of the Schoole" (*Autobiography*, p. 64). Johnson in his *Wonder-working Providence* fixes the amount of the bequest at "near a thousand pounds" (p. 133).

Seven years before this time Winthrop arrived in New England. He then found about two hundred people in and about Salem and another hundred at Charlestown. One Thomas Walford was already in possession, living in what was termed a palisaded house, when the first band of these settlers arrived at Charlestown.¹

The arrival in this country of Winthrop was followed by that remarkable immigration which in a few years converted the wilderness along the Massachusetts shore into a cluster of populous villages. It has been stated that between 1630 and 1643, two hundred and ninety-eight vessels had arrived, bringing 21,200 persons.² In order that we might not feel too confident upon this point, other writers have set the number of arrivals up to 1640 at 4000 only.³ That the former estimate is approximately correct is evident from the figures from time to time given of the number of passengers on the different vessels by Winthrop in his Journal. He does not undertake to record the arrival of every vessel, nor does he give the number of passengers on every one of those that he mentions, but he does give the names of some of the vessels which arrived during this period and in some instances the number of passengers brought by them. The highest number conveyed on any one ship was 220, the lowest 10. He says that in 1638 alone there arrived twenty ships bearing 3000 passengers⁴ and the average number on thirty-three ships that I have culled from his narrative, which arrived down to and including the 3000 in 1638, was 140 passengers for each ship. Now, if the two hundred and ninety-eight ships which are reported to have arrived by 1643 each bore 70 passengers it would justify the higher estimate of arrivals. Hence one cannot be far wrong if he should say that there must have arrived 10,000 or 11,000 immigrants in Massachusetts when Harvard set foot there. Those settlers were scattered along the coast in villages within easy distance of each other, none of them being far from the seashore. We have two means of testing the relative importance of these settlements in 1637. One, the draft ordered for soldiers for the Pequot War, the other the distribution

¹ Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 374.

² Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, i. 91; Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence*, p. 31.

³ *Magnalia*, i. 80.

⁴ Winthrop's *Journal*, i. 268.

of the country rate. It would not be unreasonable to infer that the former was based on population, the latter on property. The towns stand in the following order of importance in the draft order:¹ Boston, Salem, Ipswich, Saugus, Watertown, Dorchester, Charlestown, Roxbury, Newtown, Newbury, Hingham, Weymouth, Medford, Marblehead, the last two being each called upon to furnish four men. In the distribution of the rates,² Boston leads, then comes Salem, then Dorchester and Charlestown, then Ipswich, followed by Roxbury and Watertown on even terms; then Newtown, Saugus, Medford, Newbury, Hingham, Weymouth. Marblehead does not appear as a separate settlement in this list. A second rate was levied this year, in which the order was slightly varied and Saugus appeared as Lynn. It will be seen that Boston had already attained its supremacy, while Charlestown ranked higher on the property list than on the one based on population.

It would not be an easy matter to estimate the population of the towns at this time. The number of immigrants by no means indicates the number of permanent settlers. The mortality had at times been great. Many settlers had returned to England, and it is not reasonable to suppose that the birth rate during this period had offset this depletion, but a rough estimate would indicate that there might have been in Boston at that time a permanent population of 1500 or 1600 which was likely at any time to be swelled temporarily as high as 2000 by the arrival of transients. Charlestown had perhaps a population of 600 and that, of course, was subject to temporary increase from time to time by the overflow from Boston. Both places were rapidly growing.

Those who first arrived, if not provided with tents, constructed temporary shelters, which were termed booths, or huts, or wigwams.³ The last of these, made with boughs of trees, soon became mere tinder boxes, and were necessarily much subject to conflagration. The household fires were presumably outside and as they could not

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 192.

² Ibid. i. 201.

³ Winthrop calls them wigwams (*Journal*, i. 36, 38); Prince, booths and tents (*Annals*, p. 309); Scottow, huts and smoky cottages (*Narrative of the Planting of Massachusetts Colony, 1694*, p. 16); Hubbard, small cottages (*History of New England*, p. 134); Winslow, booths and huts (*Good News from New England, 1648*, 4 *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, i. 201).

be dispensed with during high winds, the flying sparks not infrequently caused the destruction of the wigwams and often also of the belongings of the occupants.

Such lodgings were followed by others of a more permanent character, but still primitive. It is natural to suspect that the settlers proceeded to construct log-cabins, and we should conceive of buildings of this sort being made as they are to-day in the South and West, an outline of logs being laid on the ground and others superimposed upon them. By hewing the upper and lower surface of each log so that it can rest upon its neighbors below; by mortising their ends at the corners of the building; and by preserving the several tiers of logs on a level, a solid wall can easily be reared to the required height for a roof. By caulking the cracks between the logs and daubing them with clay, such a structure may be made fairly impervious to the wind. Whether buildings of this kind were erected by the colonists does not, so far as I know, appear. Their permanent homes are merely spoken of as cottages or houses, with the exception that in one or two instances — for example, in describing the house of Thomas Walford which was found by the settlers at Charlestown — palisaded houses are referred to.¹ The meaning of this term becomes clear when we turn to the Plymouth Records and find men charged with effecting an entrance to a house by moving the loose palisadoes.² Houses of this sort were evidently constructed with vertical logs, the lower ends being sharpened and driven into the ground, or set in a trench, as is the custom in the West to-day, the upper ends being fastened together and roofed over. The use of this form of log-house, at least, we can identify with reasonable certainty.

Bearing in mind that there is no limestone to be found along our coast, it will be realized that a formidable difficulty was to be encountered in the construction of chimneys and in the interior finish of wooden houses until by some means the lack of this material was overcome. Bricks could easily be manufactured, and Higginson says they were made in Salem as early as 1629.³ Until limestone was dis-

¹ Early Records of Charlestown, in Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 374.

² March 2, 1646-47, John Crocker vs. Thomas Shawe, "for coming into his house by pulling aside some loose palisadoes, on ye Lords day, about ye middle of ye day" (Plymouth Colony Records, i. 111).

³ New Englands Plantation, in Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 244.

covered within accessible distances, lime for mortar could only have been procured by calcining oyster and clam shells. The cost of this process precluded for a while the extensive use of mortar and prevented the inside plastering of the houses. Chimneys were constructed of small strips of wood laid at right angles to each other, one on top of another and locked together at the corners by gravity, the cracks between the strips being filled with mud and the inside surface of the chimney covered with a coating of clay. Winthrop records a fire occasioned by the ignition of such a chimney. "About noon," he says, "the chimney of Mr. Sharp's house in Boston took fire (the splinters being not clayed at the top), and taking the thatch burnt it down."¹ This quotation, in addition to the description of the chimney which it furnishes, reveals to us one of the causes of the frequent fires recorded in the early days of the Colony — namely, the thatched roof.² The immigrant had been accustomed to roofs of this description in England, where the frequent showers kept them sufficiently moist to prevent special danger from fire in houses having such well constructed chimneys as the English cottages were provided with. Here the occasional drouths, and the protracted spells of infrequent rain, entirely altered the conditions of exposure to conflagration from the use of such a roof, and added to this increased hazard was the danger, as we have seen, that some of the splinters of the wooden chimneys might not be clayed at the top. Doubtless, the same neglect sometimes occurred at the bottom as well. As late as 1642 the town of Boston erected a building the roof of which was ordered to be thatched.³

Winthrop gives us a clue to still another cause of conflagration, which would not have suggested itself to us at once. He says, "The house of John Page of Watertown was burnt by carrying a few coals from one house to another; a coal fell by the way and kindled the leaves."⁴ Of course, a moment's reflection would recall to any of us that the friction match was a comparatively recent invention. The convenience of this method of ignition is so interwrought with our

¹ Winthrop's Journal, i. 48.

² For references to wooden chimneys and thatched roofs, see Dudley's letter to the Countess of Lincoln, March, 1631 (Collections New Hampshire Historical Society, iv. 248).

³ Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ii. 70.

⁴ Winthrop's Journal, i. 54.

daily lives, that the thought of going over to a neighbor's for a shovelful of coals to start up a fire would not naturally suggest itself as an every day possibility, but it is apparent that under the then existing circumstances every household would endeavor to maintain a bed of coals in the fireplace, in order to avoid the delay incident to the use of flint and tinder in kindling a fire. The colonists were so accustomed to the loss of property by fire that Cotton Mather records without comment the fact that the houses of the Rev. John Wilson had been destroyed "divers times by fires."¹ These losses were, according to Mather, borne by Wilson cheerfully. Indeed, on one occasion, when the destruction of his house by fire was announced to him, he said, "Blessed be God! he has burnt this house, because he intends to give me a better" — which, adds Mather, accordingly came to pass.

The disadvantage of not having lime at ready command is illustrated by an experience in house-building recorded by Winthrop. He says, "The governor having erected a building of stone at Mistick, there came so violent a storm of rain for twenty four hours from N. E. and S. E. as (it not being finished, and laid with clay for want of lime) two sides were washed down."² Elsewhere people suffered in a similar way, though not so disastrously. Their complaint was merely that the daubing was washed out by storms.³ Scottow describes the first meeting-house in Boston as a "Mud Wall meeting house,"⁴ and in the Boston Records we find a house described as a "Mud Wall house."⁵ As late as 1653 the town of Dorchester paid a charge for daubing the walls of the second meeting-house built in that place.⁶ The protracted use of this style of finish merely indicates the difficulty experienced by the colonists in procuring lime. They made use of such means as were at hand to make their houses windproof.

There was one other method of protection from the penetrating

¹ *Magnalia*, i. 311.

² Winthrop's *Journal*, i. 63.

³ Mourt's *Relation* (1865), p. 9.

⁴ Scottow's *Narrative of the planting of the Colony*, p. 40.

⁵ Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ii. 40.

⁶ *Ibid.* iv. 63. See also two charges in 1637 for daubing the meeting-house (*Essex Institute Historical Collections*, iv; Second series, i). Roger Clap describes the Castle as built with "Mud walls which stood for divers years" (*Memoirs*, Boston, 1731, p. 15).

winds beside daubing with clay, perhaps not so effectual but at any rate likely to prove more cleanly. Clapboards were from the very outset an article of export both here and in Plymouth, and they could be used in houses both externally and internally. In the case of framed houses, the construction of which began with the arrival of artisans, at a very early date, the exterior covering of shingles or clapboards was practically a necessity. We have the record of the use of clapboards for interior finish as early as 1632 under circumstances which also enlighten us as to what was considered ostentation in house building at that time. It had been agreed to move the government to Cambridge, and in order to make the plan effective the several members of the government mutually consented to transfer their homes there. Dudley actually set up his establishment in Cambridge. Winthrop built a house, put his servants in it for a few days, and then having concluded that the attempt to transfer the government there was a failure, he took down the frame of the house and moved it to Boston.¹ Dudley charged him with going back on his word. Winthrop retaliated with a counter-charge that "he [Dudley] did not well to bestow such cost about wainscoting and adorning his house, in the beginning of a plantation, both in regard of the necessity of publick charges, and for example."² To this charge of ostentation and extravagance in the interior finish of his house, by the substitution of wainscoting for clay-daubing, Dudley replied, "that it was for the warmth of his house, and the charge was but little, being but clapboards nailed to the wall in the form of a wainscot." This was in 1632. The frame house had already asserted itself, but so simple an interior finish as wainscoting with clapboards was subject to criticism. In the five years that followed before Harvard arrived, there was doubtless some improvement in the character of the houses as they were from time to time erected, and it is probable that wainscoting became permissible. At any rate, we find evidence that this was so in 1639 when the first College building was erected, and a contemporary writer describes the buildings in Boston as "Houses of the first edition, without large chambers or windows, ceiled with cedar or painted with vermilion."³

¹ Winthrop's Journal, i. 82.

² Ibid. i. 73.

³ Scottow's Narrative of the Planting of Massachusetts Colony, p. 41.

Besides houses of the character of those already referred to, Winthrop speaks of one which was burned down in 1632, constructed exclusively of clapboards.¹ It is not probable that when Harvard landed in Charlestown in 1637 he found many log-cabins or clapboard houses. The place had already assumed the shape of a settlement, and boards and squared timber were procurable. It must be added, however, that seasoned lumber must have been out of the reach of the builder. The difficulty about obtaining lime, although partially overcome, still existed in a great measure, and the houses then constructed, although adequate shelters for a young and hardy population, must have been totally inadequate to protect invalids or aged people, if there were any in the Colony, from the severe and violent changes of our winter weather.

If we wish to ascertain just what the possibilities of Harvard's house were, let us look for a moment at the methods of construction and finish made use of in the College building at Cambridge, the erection of which was made possible by Harvard's bequest. Here was a building which was intended to be permanent. Yet, so utterly inadequate for its preservation were the methods of construction then in vogue, that in 1677 a portion of the building fell down, thus limiting its life to less than forty years. The cause of this fall is not stated, but unseasoned lumber and bad mortar would sufficiently explain it. While the building was still very young there were complaints of rotting ground-sills, and heavy demands were made on the College purse for repairs.

Under one roof in this building were all the rooms deemed requisite for the College and the students. There was the public hall where religious and literary exercises were held and where also the students had their commons. Over this was a room in which was the library that Harvard brought with him to Charlestown. The kitchen and buttery were on the ground floor, and there were dormitories in both stories as well as in the attic. The chambers were provided with studies, mere closets in size, but rendering it possible for the occupants of the rooms to obtain some sort of seclusion during study hours.² When this building was erected the College was very short of money

¹ Winthrop's Journal, i. 87.

² The Early College Buildings at Cambridge, Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1890.

and the several studies and chambers were finished according to the desires of those who intended to occupy them, the cost of the finish being charged to the proposed occupant. This enables us to see what was possible at that time in the way of interior finish. Certain of the rooms were lathed and daubed, and as there are charges for clay, it would follow with reasonable certainty that the clay was purchased for this purpose.¹ Other rooms were plastered and whitened. Still others were sealed with cedar, thus being finished in that reprehensible form, wainscoting. There were charges for glass used in the building, but they would seem to be inadequate for all the windows. There are references in existence which indicate that oiled paper was also in use at that time.²

Hints at the life in the building help us to understand the conditions under which Harvard was placed in his new house at Charlestown a few years before these entries were made. There were, for instance, only one or two studies which were capable of being warmed. Hence, in the winter months, nearly all the students were compelled to assemble in the public hall, where, before the open fireplace, they could at any rate keep from freezing. Wood was abundant, but a roaring fire in an open fireplace required constant replenishing. It was easy to produce heat enough to warm such a room, but the trouble was that nearly all of it went up the chimney and in a drafty room, even the interposition of a settle as a screen did not mean comfort with a hot fire on one side and the chill of the room the other. The question of lighting the hall in the evenings sufficiently for study must have been a troublesome one. The steward charged the students for candles and if they made use of the public fire a charge was made for this. The drafty room, the open fire and the tallow candle — these were the conditions to which all were subject, and if they do not in themselves indicate suffering, they at least do not convey an idea of comfort. Higginson, writing at an earlier date, says that there were no tallow

¹ It may seem unnecessary to devote so much time to the discussion of daubed walls in connection with the career of one whose mother was from Stratford and a contemporary of the poet who wrote the familiar lines —

Imperious Cæsar dead and turned to clay
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away.

² "Bring paper and linseed oil for your windows" (Winslow in Mount's Relation, p. 142).

candles to be had in the Colony but that they had fish oil in abundance for lighting, and that pine splinters served their purpose very well.¹ These references to candles in the College books would indicate that candles had soon become plenty in the Colony, but the inventories of the day are of no use in settling this question.

The College books assist in interpreting the conditions of life on one other point — namely, how the colonists managed to carry on their daily transactions without a circulating medium. Coming as they did to what they were accustomed to term a wilderness, they did not fortify themselves with coin. The result was that they were soon obliged to provide substitutes. A price was fixed, at which the Indian wampum should circulate. Bullets were made current for a time in place of brass farthings. Prices were fixed for beaver skins. Corn was declared to be a legal tender, and so on.² The result of all this was that the Treasurer of the College received very little silver. He was paid almost exclusively in commodities, oftentimes in live stock. Take a single account for a year. It was settled in rye, Indian, wheat, malt, butter, apples, and a final payment designated as commodities. The same difficulty must have been experienced in Charlestown by John Harvard, and it would be interesting to find out how he managed to pay his bills, or if he did not run any bills, fancy him going to market equipped with a few bushels of corn, a bundle of beaver skins, a string of wampum and a handful of bullets, thus prepared to settle for what he should buy.

I think we can safely draw the conclusion from what has been learned from the College building that the house that Harvard built for himself must have been but a very simple and rude cottage, especially must it have been small, if he was to occupy it during the winter of 1637-1638, for the reason that the smaller and simpler the house the quicker could it be finished. If it survived until Sewall's time, it had a long life for those days, but of course, this was possible, since with constant occupation and continuous repairs, there would be a gradual substitution of new material, which might not only prolong the life of the building, but actually improve it and place it in better condition

¹ Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 254. Capt. Smith says, "traine oyle with the splinters of the roots of pine trees for candles" (3 *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, iii. 38); Wood, *New England's Prospect* (1898), p. 18.

² *Massachusetts Colony Records*, i. 92 (corn), 97 (bullets), 140 (beaver), 208 (wampum).

for continued life. Harvard was a comparatively wealthy man. Few of the colonists could show such a balance sheet. The days of framed houses had by that time become fairly well established in the older towns. He could, therefore, afford to indulge in a brick chimney, a shingled roof, in walls plastered and whitened or in a wainscot, and he certainly would have clapboarded the outside of his house. Probably also he had glass and not paper in his windows.

Here, surrounded by the three hundred and seventy-three or perhaps more volumes which he brought over with him,¹ he must have made the best of the situation, and although it would be difficult for us to obtain much pleasure from the perusal of most of the volumes in his library, still inasmuch as they were deliberately selected by him, we must conclude that he expected to derive comfort from them. If his house was constructed in the fall, the time had come when he moved in, for him to enjoy his books. Winter was at hand with its cold winds, its ice and snow and slush. Inside the house, in the room where the books were shelved, near the fire, sheltered by the settle, was the place for the delicate young clergyman whose predisposition to pulmonary complaint forbade the idea of much exposure in ordinary New England winter weather. Reading these ponderous volumes,² whose contents seem to us to-day as heavy as the books themselves, by the light of a candle in the winter evenings, afforded opportunity for cultivation and study if not for recreation. It is not right, however, to assume that what seems dull to us to-day was without interest to the theological student of the seventeenth century.

Audiences then listened patiently to long sermons which in their published form require careful study for us, to-day, to make out their meaning. Winthrop says:³

¹ Dunster's list of these books comprehends 260 titles. Several of these titles indicated works published in several volumes. See *A few Notes concerning the Records of Harvard College, Bibliographical Contributions, Library of Harvard University*, No. 27. Quite recently a praiseworthy effort has been put forth to place upon the shelves of the Harvard Library a copy of each work named in the catalogue — a contemporaneous publication by preference. The study of the subject has revealed the fact that the library bequeathed by Harvard must have contained 373 volumes.

² The effort to duplicate these volumes has disclosed the fact that many of them were octavos and some even smaller.

³ Winthrop's *Journal*, i. 304.

Mr. Hooker began to preach at Cambridge, the governor and many others went to hear him, (though the governor did very seldom go from his own congregation on the Lord's day). He preached in the afternoon, and having gone on with much strength of voice and intention of spirit, about a quarter of an hour, he was at a stand, and told the people, that God had deprived him both of his strength and matter, &c. and so went forth, and about half an hour after returned again, and went on to very good purpose about two hours.

And yet, so complete was the domination of Hooker over his parish that when he went to Hartford, one hundred of his parishioners accompanied him, making the journey on foot, in about fourteen days. We can think of them trudging along through the forest, treading the old Indian trail, which skirted the swamps and led from ford to ford of brook or river, over the saddles in the intervening ranges of hills, and following their favorite preacher who could hold forth for over two hours, even when physically so prostrate that he was obliged to stop for a rally. We cannot judge of the enjoyment or the satisfaction to be derived by one situated as Harvard was, in the perusal of books which do not interest us to-day. It may be, probably was, that he found comfort in his Bellarminus and his Zanchius and recreation in Quarles's Poems and the Mirror for Magistrates.

It would be pleasant for those who are smokers to think of Harvard toasting his feet before the fire and enjoying a pipe. This process was in those days termed "taking" or "drinking" tobacco and was frowned upon by the authorities. The public use of tobacco was forbidden in 1632 and its sale was prohibited in 1635. Thus the law stood until the spring of 1638. It was possible therefore for Harvard at this time if he could procure smuggled tobacco to smoke it in solitude, but the presence of his wife during the act would have made this proceeding illegal. In March, 1638, the restraints were temporarily withdrawn, but early in September they were again interposed and tobacco was not allowed to be taken in the fields, except on a journey, nor at meal-times, nor in or near any house, barn or hay-rack, where there was danger of fire; nor at any inn, or common victualing-house, except in a private room with no other person present.¹

¹ Winthrop was not, apparently, opposed to its use. March 18, 1627, he wrote: "We want a little tobacco. I had very good, for seven shillings a pound

We are prone to think of the food which was served in those days as something for which the settlers were entitled to sympathy. I should be inclined to say that if Ann Sadler was a good plain cook, Harvard's table would have been quite as attractive as the ordinary table of to-day. We all know how good the simple things taste which are served to us in camp. To Winthrop the rough fare seemed good, and he wrote in 1630, "I never fared better in my life, never slept better, never had more content of mind,"¹ and again, "Though we have not beef and mutton yet (God be praised) we want them not. Our Indian corn answers for all. Yet here is fowl and fish in great plenty."² Johnson, describing things a few years later, spoke of the gardens and orchards. The author of *New England's First Fruits*, writing only two or three years later, spoke of the gardens — orchards, grounds fenced, corn fields, etc. — and enumerated the resources of the table as fish — sea and fresh — fowl of all kinds, wild and tame, and spoke of white meal and of English grain as well as Indian. Goats, sheep and cattle had multiplied, and although in 1637 and 1638 they could not have been sufficiently numerous to be relied upon for furnishing meat for the table, still there is evidence that the colonists occasionally indulged in this diet. The forest, in season, provided occasional venison. Fowls were abundant, and, after they had become acclimated, bred freely. Partridges, pigeons and ducks, wild turkeys and geese were to be had in plenty in the fall of the year. The brooks were full of trout and the ocean teemed with life. Mackerel, cod, haddock, pollock, hake, and bass were to be had all along the coast, some of them at any time and in any quantity; and there were sturgeon in some of the rivers, and smelts and alewives were at times abundant. Clams and oysters were to be procured with ease, there were many beds of mussels, and lobsters abounded in the waters of the bay, not short lobsters, but big fellows, one of which would serve for a family. The period at which Harvard arrived was the transition from the sufferings of the early immigrants to the plenty which followed their suc-

at a grocer's by Holborn Bridge" (*Journal*, i. 350). The statutes referred to will be found in the *Massachusetts Colony Records*, i. 101 (use prohibited), 109 (constables to take note of persons), 136 (sale prohibited), 204, 206 (former laws repealed), 241-242 (new law against use).

¹ Winthrop's *Journal*, i. 377.

² *Ibid.* i. 379.

cessful efforts at introducing stock and cultivating gardens.¹ The first difficulties attending the cultivation of English grain had at that time probably been overcome, and people were no longer absolutely dependent upon Indian corn, or imported wheat and oatmeal.²

Cooking was then accomplished before an open fire. The fowl or the cut of meat placed in the spit could be properly browned and basted under the constant supervision of the cook. The smaller birds could be broiled on the live coals. There were no stoves, and no ovens to mingle the flavor of roasted meats, no cold storage to destroy their taste. The Charlestown man who in 1638 had eggs for breakfast, felt reasonably sure that they were freshly laid and had no occasion to speculate as to whether they had been in cold storage for the preceding twelve months. There was no occasion for a *chef de cuisine* to disguise the decadent flavor of meats, nominally fresh but preserved artificially long after the time when they should have been eaten. A plain cook was all that was needed to secure palatable food. I am disposed, therefore, to say that there is no occasion for us to waste sympathy on John Harvard on that ground, certainly not if I am right in thinking that the era of plenty, which we know obtained four or five years later, had already dawned.

The lack of tea and coffee greatly changed the character of the meals of that day from those which are served us to-day. There were no five o'clock teas, no after-dinner coffee; but morning, noon, and night, beer, beer, beer. This does not sound attractive, but it must be remembered that one of the complaints made by the students against Eaton was that he did not furnish them with bread and beer between meals.³ One important article of diet is said to have been abundant, and that is milk. Our authorities do not fix the date when it became so, but presumably this was the case in 1638.

¹ Wood writes in 1634: "Four eggs may be had for a penny and a quart of milk at the same rate and when butter is six pence a pound and Cheshire cheese at five pence" (Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 414).

² When the Governor's wife arrived in 1631 people sent him "fat hogs, kids, venison, poultry, geese, partridges, &c." (Journal, i. 57). By 1633, the gardens had become productive, so that notwithstanding a scarcity of corn people lived well with fish and the fruit of their gardens (*ibid.* i. 108).

³ "For bread and beer, that it was denied to them betwixt meals, truly, I do not remember, that ever I did deny it unto them; and John Wilson will affirme, that, generally, bread and beer was free for the boarders to go unto" (Winthrop's Journal, i. 310 note).

It is not probable that the earlier immigrants brought with them much of any furniture. The vessels were filled with passengers and stock. Sheep, cattle, goats, horses were crowded in, and as the voyage might be even longer than twelve weeks, they were obliged to carry provisions for passengers and for stock which should serve under any probable circumstances, and practically they had also to provide in advance for the return voyage. Besides this the colonists were dependent upon the Mother Country for clothes, for shoes, and for some years for medicines, condiments, spices, and some articles of food. All these things were of more importance than furniture, and it is not conceivable that much storage room could have been found for chairs, tables, bedsteads, and bureaus in the crowded ships down to 1640.¹ If we should seek to reconstruct the furnishing of Harvard's house we ought therefore to confine ourselves to simple and rude articles, just as well adapted, however, for their purpose as if more skilfully constructed.²

Table habits and table manners must have been very different at that time from those which prevail to-day. We should be shocked if when we sat down to dinner a guest should pull out a clasp knife, cut up his meat into small pieces, and then feed himself by conveying them to his mouth with his fingers.³ Yet, that must have been the way in which people ate their food in 1637. There were no forks in

¹ Thomas Dudley writes in 1631 to the Countess of Lincoln saying "having yet no table, nor other room to write in than by the fireside upon my knee" (Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 305).

² My attention has been called to the omission in the text of reference to the use of intoxicating liquors. Of course drunkenness was one of the troubles of that time. Numerous convictions are recorded for the offence, but at the period which I cover, all liquors were imported except strong beer. In 1630, Winthrop restrained the drinking of healths at his table, and so it grew little by little to disuse (*Journal*, i. 37). In 1635, he speaks of drunkenness occasioned by people running to the ships (*ibid.* i. 161).

³ I am indebted to Professor Kittredge for calling my attention to two things: first, the proverb "fingers were made before forks," evidence in itself that the knife was not used by well bred persons for conveying food to the mouth; and secondly, to Chaucer's description of the dainty manner in which the Prioress fed herself, obviously with her fingers, given in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*. Thomas Shepard in one of his sermons calls attention to the danger accompanying the use of the knife in cutting one's meat: "Its from the excellency of a knife to cut well, but to cut my finger with it when I should be cutting of my meat with it, ariseth not from the end of the knife, nor from the intention of him who made it" (*Certain Select Cases Resolved*, p. 7).

this country at that time, and there were very few knives other than such as people carried on their persons, either clasped in the pocket, or in a sheath attached to a belt. There were indeed no forks in England in general use at that time. The first that were used in Europe were dainty little things, not over three or four inches in length. They were made of silver, having slender stems, with short prongs at the lower end, and evidently having for a function simply the picking up of the small pieces of meat after they had been cut off. The idea of a fork of such strength as to permit one to hold the meat while cutting it had not yet been conceived. It was possible, however, by using a spoon to steady the meat, to avoid holding it with the hands. Bearing in mind that wooden and pewter spoons were then in use, it will be seen that reliance upon the stronger of the two could only have taken place. Montaigne in his journey to Italy says the Swiss always "place as many wooden spoons with silver handles as there are guests, and no Swiss is ever without a knife, which he uses in taking up everything, and it is very seldom that they put their hands in their plates."¹ These hints from across the Atlantic suggest what our ancestors probably did, but at all events, napkins are preponderant in early inventories in this country. Perhaps this preponderance may be explained by the absence of forks.²

Harvard, as a man of peace, could not himself have taken part in the trainings which then took place eight times a year.³ Although personally exempt, he must have taken an interest in the service of his parishioners in the militia. In the early days the Company sent over for their equipment corselets consisting of head pieces, gorgets, back pieces, breast pieces, gauntlets, and tassets, varnished all black with leather and buckles.⁴ Armed with pike or snaphance each man was a walking fortress and had but little to fear from the Indians, so long as he had the strength to bear his armor, as he wearily plodded through the woods and over the hills. When it came to the pursuit of a foe a soldier thus equipped must have been at a great disadvantage.⁵ We do not naturally conceive of armor-clad men in the forests

¹ Montaigne's Journal, iv. 210.

² William T. Davis in his *Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth* (p. vii) makes substantially the same observations as to the preponderance of napkins.

³ Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 210.

⁴ Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 54.

⁵ "We could not follow them in our Armor" (Winthrop's Journal, i. 199).

of New England in the seventeenth century, but Longfellow calls up that association when he speaks of Miles Standish as pausing, —

Ever and anon to behold his glittering weapons of warfare,
Hanging in shining array along the walls of his chamber —
Cutlass and corselet of steel, and his trusty sword of Damascus.

These trainings must have aroused great interest in those days. A thousand men were reviewed in Boston by Governor Winthrop in 1639, presumably, however, not all of them in armor, for by that time they had discovered the questionable value of armor in the character of wars that they were likely to wage, and the equipment of a trained soldier was defined to be in 1634 a musket, a bandolier, a rest, and powder and shot, pikemen to bear them as well as other soldiers.¹ The records show, however, that armor was still in use after the date of this Act.²

If on occasions like training days, John Harvard took his wife out with him to witness the evolutions and watch the congregation of his neighbors, it was important that both he and she should be clothed in a subdued and unobtrusive manner, for it was forbidden to make or wear slashed clothes, needlework caps, bands and rails. All gold and silver girdles, hatbands, belts, ruffs, and beaver hats were prohibited to be bought or worn. Nor was it permissible to use lace of any sort upon any garment, except small edging laces.³

The drum furnished the means of inspiring the soldiers in these drills, but its use was not confined to such occasions. There were no bells in the Colony, and everything of a public sort was done to the tap of the drum.⁴ Were the inhabitants to assemble in town meeting the drummer made the announcement. Though Harvard did not march on Sundays to the Great House in Charlestown, yet he went at the call of the drum. In Dorchester a town official was appointed

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 125.

² "Our men being completely armed with Corslets, muskets, bandoliers, rests and Swords." Head pieces are also mentioned in this account. (Capt. John Underhill's *Newes from America*, in *Hart's American History* told by Contemporaries, p. 439.) Besides the expression, showing that the men were in armor — quoted in the note above — Winthrop, in another description in the same year, 1636, speaks of their being armed with corselets (*Journal*, i. 194).

³ Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 126, 183.

⁴ Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ii. 8, iv. 3.

to drive the cows to the common pasture, and it was his business to blow his horn along the town as he accompanied the herd to the pasture.¹ The drum and the horn served to warn people.²

Indentured servants were imported in great numbers, and while it is not probable that many of these were house servants, still it is possible that Harvard profited by their presence. Their time belonged absolutely to their masters during the term of the contract. They were liable to be whipped if they violated the unwritten laws of the Colony and were not permitted to trade without license from their master. When their terms of service ran out they were at liberty to make new wage contracts, and Winthrop records a humorous answer made by one of them to his master a few years after the period under consideration. The master had been obliged to sell a pair of his oxen to meet the wages of the servant. He thereupon told the man that he could not retain him in his service as he did not know how he could pay him. "Sell more cattle," said the man. "What shall I do when they are gone?" "You can serve me and get them back," said the man.³ Although this story is placed a few years after Harvard's death, it is entitled to our consideration not alone for its humor but also for the moral involved in the answer of the servant. The indentured servants of the Colony, if they persisted after the expiration of their indentures in being industrious and were economical, were destined to have their share of the wealth of the Colony, and their employers, if unwilling to work, were to see the transfer of their wealth from their own hands into the possession of those better entitled to care for it.

Johnson's description of Charlestown, as a place having one hundred and fifty dwelling houses, with a large market-place near the water side, built round with houses, comely and fair, from which there issued two streets lined with dwelling houses having gardens and orchards,⁴ fairly represents the possible Charlestown of 1638, with the exception that the trees in the orchards could hardly have reached such maturity as to amount to much. The meeting-house

¹ Boston Record Commissioners Reports, iv. 22.

² "He demands of the next man he met, what the signall of the drum ment, the reply was made they have as yet no Bell to call men to meeting" (Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence*, p. 103).

³ Winthrop's Journal, ii. 220.

⁴ *Wonder-working Providence*, p. 41.

stood in what is now known as City Square. It must have been a primitive affair.

Such were the conditions of life in Harvard's day, such the place in which he lived, so far as we can reconstruct them from the statements and hints contained in the records and narratives at our command. Had his life here been longer we could be more certain as to his experiences.

We do not know with whom Harvard was thrown when he arrived; whose friendship he especially sought; from whom he received such social attentions as were then possible. Pride in ancestry and class distinctions based upon occupations were rife in those days, and even under the levelling pressure of mutual exposure and hardship it was quite probable that the son of a butcher would have been coldly received by those claiming the right to be classified as of gentle families. It would have been natural for him to turn for associates and friends, first to the graduates of his own College and then to those who had been associated with other Colleges in the University of Cambridge. Hooker and Stone, both Emmanuel men, had already gone to Hartford, but Thomas Shepard, an Emmanuel graduate and a man of mark in the Colony, was within easy reach, being then settled at Newtown. Zachariah Symmes, his colleague, was a Cambridge man, as was also John Wilson, the colleague of Cotton and the sturdy opponent of Mrs. Hutchinson. Cotton, perhaps the most conspicuous of the colonial clergymen, was a Cambridge man, a graduate of Trinity, who was afterward connected with Emmanuel. In view of the turbulent conditions of the politics of the colony, in which Shepard,¹ Symmes, and Wilson were to be found among the opponents of Vane and Cotton, it is not conceivable that the colleague of Symmes, who was eulogized by Wilson and spoken of with words of tender and loving praise by Shepard, should have sought the friendship of Cotton. Evidently he

¹ See C. F. Adams' *Antinomianism* (Prince Society), p. 251. Shepard did not take a very active part in the discussion relative to the heresy of Mrs. Hutchinson, and he evidently considered that he occupied a neutral opinion in the controversy, for he says that Newtown was "kept spotless from the contagion of opinion." He was, however, one of a committee which examined Mrs. Hutchinson, and although he was not violent in his opposition to her, yet he joined in a report with Thomas Welde which was referred to several times in the discussion. It seems to me therefore that he must be considered as practically taking sides in the matter.

cast his lot with those who supported Winthrop — a fact which emphasizes the recognition of his independence and public spirit by his fellow-citizens in their appointment of him in the spring of 1638 as one of a committee to secure a code of laws. With the above trio, however, for sponsors, Harvard could not have lacked social attention. The clergy were the real leaders of the Colony. Lawyers there were none, and of doctors but a few.¹ The society which was based upon intellectual cultivation, must after all have been that which was the most desirable.

One other person alone among his American contemporaries has his name directly associated with that of Harvard, and that is Thomas Allen — his successor in the Charlestown pulpit. Allen served as executor of the will. If this instrument was duly executed by Harvard in ordinary form, then this appointment indicated the personal preference of the testator and pointed out one person at least besides his wife in whom he had trust and for whom he had affection. The fact that in the confusion of the records at that date no written will has been found does not seriously militate against this conclusion.

Wilson in his elegy² portrays the deathbed scene:

Not that no spouse sustained my fainting head,
Or loving children watched my dying bed; —
These I remembered, yet a half of all
I gave to you who throng this hall.

This reference to the loving children, who were remembered in the half of the estate, not given to the College, is the only hint that has ever been discovered of the existence of any family left by Harvard other than his widow, and adds one more difficulty to the attempt to describe his career.³

¹ Cotton Mather is authority for the statement that the Clergy had "eminent skill in *physick*." He says, "it is well known that until two hundred years ago, *physick* in England was no profession distinct from *divinity*." Most of Charles Chauncy's sons, six in all, were, he says, practitioners of *physic* as well as clergymen (*Magnalia*, i. 475).

² *Magnalia*, ii. 33.

³ It is known that Mrs. Harvard bore children by her second husband. It is probable that Wilson was thinking of these children when he composed his elegy. The form of the elegy, an address by Harvard to an assembly of graduates, involves the idea of the lapse of many years after Harvard's death before such a

It is evident that if we could identify the leading spirit in the attempt to secure the establishment of a College in New England, with some person who was probably a friend of Harvard, we should have good reason to believe that in this person we had found the one who influenced him to make the bequest to the College. The entry in the Record in 1636,¹ was simply an agreement to the proposition that there should be a college, in aid of which the sum of £200 would be given when the site was fixed upon, and £200 more when the building should be finished. The vagueness of the Act was slightly reduced by the deliberate statement that the site and the character of the building must be determined by the next Court. No name is in any way associated with this legislation, and there is no hint as to the person who was forcing action on the subject. Whoever it was, however, did not permit the matter to rest here, but next year, on the 15th of November,² secured the adoption of Newtown as the site for the College and on the 20th,³ through the appointment of a working committee, brought matters into promising shape. This committee was composed of the Governor, the Deputy Governor, the Treasurer, three Assistants, and six clergymen.⁴ Of these latter Thomas Shepard was one. His influence in securing the adoption of Newtown as the site of the College is set forth by Cotton Mather in the following words:

And it was with a respect unto this vigilancy and the enlightening and powerful ministry of Mr Shepard, that when the foundation of a College was to be laid, Cambridge, rather than any other place, was pitched upon to be the seat of that happy seminary.⁵

gathering could have taken place. Wilson died in 1667 at the age of seventy-nine, and if we allow an interval of at least twenty-five years to have elapsed after Harvard's death before the elegy was composed, it would make him seventy-five years of age when it was written. This may perhaps account for this expression in the elegy, as confusion of memory on his part. That this must have been so, becomes apparent when we take into consideration the date of Harvard's marriage, April 19, 1636.

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 183.

² Ibid. i. 208.

³ Ibid. i. 217.

⁴ The close resemblance of this committee to the body to whom was entrusted the care and regulation of the affairs of the College in 1642, has led encyclopedists to record that members of the committee were at that time appointed Overseers of Harvard College.

⁵ Magnalia, i. 386.

Shepard himself says:

He [the Lord] was pleased to direct the harts of the Magistrates (then keeping Court ordinarily in our towne because of their stirs in Boston) to think of erecting a Schoole or College, and that speedily to be a nursery of knowledge in these deserts and supply for posterity, and because this towne (then called Newtown) was hereto [by] God's great care and goodness kept spotless from the contagion of opinion, therefore at the desire of some of the Deputies of the Court having got Mr Eaton to attend the Schoole, the Court for that and sundry other reasons determined to erect the College here.¹

Making all due allowances for Shepard's modesty, one might infer from his presence on the committee the influence that determined the selection of the site, even though Cotton Mather had not come to our aid. It is plain, however, from all this, that Shepard must have been a living force in settling "speedily" — to use his own language — these preliminary questions. His appreciative estimate of Harvard has something personal in its ring and compels the suggestion that he may have been the one to direct Harvard's thoughts toward the College.

Concerning the details of the one great act in Harvard's life which has made him famous we know absolutely nothing. There is no trace of the will which contained his immortal bequest. There is no certainty even that there was any written instrument. The lack of evidence as to the details of the bequest led the writer of a note to say, "John Harvard seems to be the 'Melchisedec' of the first age of the Colony of Massachusetts. He is known to us only as a 'priest of the most High God,' and as one who 'gave gifts.'"²

Quite recently an Englishman has made an attempt, as he expresses it, to visualize the life and character of John Harvard. It may seem strange that Harvard graduates should have left the performance of this grateful task to a foreigner, but it must not be forgotten that the accretion of facts which have made the work possible has been slow and at best does not amount to much. Perhaps, on the whole, it is

¹ Autobiography, p. 64.

² 5 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 447, note. George E. Ellis was one of the committee in charge of the publication of this volume and doubtless is responsible for this witty and appropriate quotation.

well that this testimony should have been borne to the fact that the care of John Harvard's reputation does not belong alone to Harvard graduates, or even to Americans, but is the world's possession. At all events, we must be grateful to Mr. Shelley for the graceful and charming work which he has performed. In conclusion let me quote a few words from his preface and from his closing chapter. The preface opens as follows: "Among the names graven on the foundation stone of American History none is so deeply carved, or is so rich in promise of endurance as that of John Harvard." In his last chapter, which is entitled "The praise of John Harvard," after alluding to Harvard's contemporaries whose fame he and they probably believed to be not only better established in the present but also as having far better claim upon the future for endurance than his own, Mr. Shelley goes on to say: "Yet, while even the greatest of these are known to few save the diligent student of history, while their Court honors have turned to dust, and their achievements are lost in oblivion, the dying inspiration¹ of John Harvard has given him an immortality which gathers brighter radiance with every passing generation."

How true this is we all fully appreciate. The shadowy personality of Harvard as we have seen almost evades research. His final resting place is unknown, but his renown pervades the world. His fame has its foundation in the gratitude of the graduates of the University which bears his name. His glory is ever to be found in the work which that great institution has accomplished in the past and which it is destined to perform in the future.

Mr. CHARLES K. BOLTON made the following remarks:

At our January meeting in 1904, I brought to the attention of the Society a leaf, torn from a Bible, on which had been written a record of Governor Shirley's family.² That record contained the previously unknown dates of the birth and baptism of the Governor and other interesting particulars concerning his own and his father's family.

I noticed recently a handsome quarto volume, privately printed in London in 1897, bearing the title, *Some Account of the Family of*

¹ The assumption that Harvard's will was nuncupative may be correct, but it does not rest upon direct evidence.

² Publications, viii. 243, 244.

Godman, with a Record of every known Reference to the Name. Facing page 29 is a large tabular pedigree of the Godmans of Ote Hall, Wivelsfield, Sussex, which gives the maternal ancestry of Governor Shirley for seven generations with dates of baptism, marriage, and burial. There are also interesting facts concerning the Shirleys on pages 49 and 50.

Governor Shirley's mother was Elizabeth Godman, daughter of John Godman, lord of Ote Hall, through whom the manor and lordship of Ote Hall, which had been the seat of the Godmans since 1537, passed to her son the Governor, and later to his son Sir Thomas Shirley, who sold it to Mr. William Tanner of Moorhouse, Sussex. From Tanner's daughter the estate was recovered by purchase, in 1881, by Major-General Richard Temple Godman, who had served as an adjutant in the Crimean War at Balaklava, Inkerman, and Sebastopol.

On pages 37 and 38 are views of the manor house as it appeared in 1871 and 1881; and on pages 35 and 36 there is a description of it and an account of its restoration after its recovery by General Godman.

It is curious to observe that, apparently, the author of this elaborate volume had never heard that Shirley held office or had a distinguished career in America.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES made the following communication :

In his History of Massachusetts (III. 15, 16), Hutchinson speaks of Governor Shirley as follows :

Mr. Shirley arrived in Boston from England, August 6th, 1756. He made an ill-judged step when he was in France, which he had reason to repent as long as he lived. At the age of threescore, he was captivated with the charms of a young girl, his landlord's daughter in Paris, and married her privately.

When he came back to England, he would have concealed his match. Lord Halifax had heard the report, but did not credit it, until some of her letters were shewn him, which had been privately taken out of Mr. Shirley's desk, by persons who wished to defeat his design of obtaining a better government, and to oblige him to return to New England. This imprudence lessened him in Lord Halifax's esteem; and, though he had shewn himself to be very capable of his trust of commissary in France, as

well as very faithful in the discharge of it, yet, as he failed of success, which, more frequently than real merit, entitles to reward, his private fortune was much hurt by his employment. His allowance being four pounds only per diem, he used to say, it did not cover his necessary expense in that publick character. The rumour of his marriage came to New England before his arrival, and some who were not well affected to him, were ready enough to insinuate that his French connexions might induce him to favour the French cause, but his conduct evinced the contrary.

Whether Shirley brought his young wife to America or left her in Europe does not appear. Of his recall, in 1756, Hutchinson says:

He wished to spend a little time with his family in Boston; but his successor [Pownall], judging that he should be better able to transact business with the assembly after the governor had left the province, called on him repeatedly, by letters, to embark, and he sailed several weeks sooner than otherwise he would have done (p. 48).¹ . . . After long solicitation, he obtained the small government of the Bahama islands (p. 48 note).

As I had never met with any statement or record of the name of Shirley's second wife, I was glad to find, a few days ago, in the Suffolk Registry of Deeds, the record of a conveyance that Shirley made to his son-in-law Eliakim Hutchinson, in which the given name of this young woman appears. In this instrument the grantor is described as "His Excellency William Shirley, late of Boston in the County of Suffolk and Province of the Massachusetts Bay, now of New Providence in the Bahama Islands, Esq^r." The covenants contain the following clause:

And further that the said William Shirley and his heirs all and singular the herein before-mentioned and granted premises with their appurtenances unto the said Eliakim Hutchinson his heirs and assigns against him the said William Shirley and all persons whomsoever lawfully claiming the same shall & will forever hereafter Warrant & Defend particularly the Claim of Dower out of in & to the same, which Julie his present wife may make or set up in case of her surviving him.

¹ The Boston News-Letter of Thursday, 30 September, 1756, stated that "On Saturday last His Excellency embarked on board His Majesty's Ship Mermaid, Washington Shirley, Esq; Commander" (p. 1/2).

This deed, the consideration in which was £2500, was dated 10 March, 1763, was acknowledged by Shirley in Boston, 25 February, 1764, before Nathaniel Hatch, and was recorded four days later, the record stating that the words in the above mentioned clause concerning dower were "first added thereto" before signing.¹

The inference is fair that Shirley wished to divest himself of his tangible property, so far as possible, during his lifetime in order that it might be enjoyed after his decease by his children without the interference of their step-mother. The conveyance covered several estates, comprising more than a hundred acres, situated in Roxbury and Dorchester. This inference is strengthened by the facts that after Shirley's death on 24 March, 1771, administration on his estate was granted to Eliakim Hutchinson, who gave bond in the moderate sum of £3,000,² that no other probate proceedings appear of record, and that Hutchinson held the real estate conveyed to him in 1764 till 3 August, 1782, when, for £1600 lawful silver money, Samuel Henshaw and Samuel Barrett, both of Boston, a majority of the committee to sell the estates of conspirators and absentees, sold to John Read of Boston "the real estate of Eliakim Hutchinson late of Roxbury in the county of Suffolk,"³ which comprised only the several parcels conveyed to him by Shirley.

The Rev. HENRY A. PARKER read the following paper :

THE REVEREND EZEKIEL ROGERS.

The Rev. Ezekiel Rogers, Anglican priest and New England pastor,⁴ is one to be remembered by us, if for no other reason because he brought over and established here that substantial and industrious company of Yorkshire clothiers who settled Rogers's Plantation, afterwards known as Rowley. For their early introduction of manufac-

¹ Suffolk Deeds, ci. 164.

² Suffolk Probate Files, no. 15,041.

³ Suffolk Deeds, cxxxv. 196. See also clxx. 48, 96, clxxvi. 13, 15.

⁴ Born in 1590 at Wethersfield, Essex, where his father the Rev. Richard Rogers held a lectureship from about 1577 to 1618, being repeatedly "suspended for Nonconformity though supported by the Puritan Lord Knollys." Ezekiel Rogers's elder brother, Daniel, succeeded his father, after an interval, in the Wethersfield lectureship. All three were of the University of Cambridge. See Victoria History of the County of Essex, ii. 52.

ture of cotton and woollen fabrics not only supplied a pressing need of the colonists, but gave New England the lead which it still keeps in that important industry.

Mr. Rogers, like John Harvard, was a benefactor of our College. He left it most of his English books, valued at £26, and all his Latin books, valued at £47 (except a copy of the works of St. Thomas Aquinas, which he left to his colleague the Rev. Samuel Phillips). The College also, some time after his death, profited by a provision in his will by which he left a considerable real estate to provide for the support, in part, of both pastor and teacher for the Rowley church, but if both were not employed according to the New England Way, to which he was enthusiastically attached, the estate was to go to the College — as in the end it did.

When in 1660 he found that the time when he should be gathered to his fathers was near, before disposing of his earthly estate he bequeathed to posterity a brief religious autobiography in which he incidentally expresses his disapproval of the "fashions and guises" of his time, particularly of "that general disguisement of long ruffian-like hair;" and says that he lives and dies "an unfeigned hater of all the base opinions of the Anabaptists and Antinomians, and all other phrenitics, delays of the times, that spring from thence, which God will, ere long, cause to be as dung on the earth." He thanks the Lord for having "mercifully prevented" him from becoming a physician, for he says he has "observed, that the most, through their own corruption, have made it to themselves the very temptation to covetousness or lust, or both." Of the English Church he says that he lived in the time of "the hottest persecution of that bloody hierarchy, and being enlightened concerning the evil and snare of subscription and ceremonies" was nearly persuaded to give up the design of being a minister of the gospel.

His will is printed in the History of Rowley with an apologetic footnote stating that it had "been submitted to the consideration of several competent judges, including some of our Baptist friends," but that in spite of "a very earnest desire expressed for its publication entire," it was published "not without some hesitation." It is not stated that any stray Episcopalians or Antinomians or physicians were consulted, though the opprobrious remarks on the medical men being entirely gratuitous, they might with most reason have objected.

Mr. Rogers, indeed, was a masterful man of strong opinions which he expressed strongly. Winthrop reports that in his election sermon in 1643 he opposed the re-election of any man for governor twice in succession, "and expressed his dislike with such vehemency as gave offence." And Winthrop, reporting his speech at the Cambridge Synod of 1647, when amongst other things he denounced long hair, says, "Divers were offended at his zeal in some of these passages." When he discovered that the land granted his plantation did not include a certain neck of land, he made a scene in the General Court and gained his point — though obliged to apologize for his language. His thorough certainty that he was in the right, and that a more than ordinary reward awaited him in Heaven, is expressed in his letter of February, 1657-58, to the Rev. Zachariah Symmes of Charlestown:

I thank God I am near home; and you too are not far off. Oh! the weight of glory, that is ready waiting for us, God's poor exiles! We shall sit next the martyrs and confessors. Oh the embraces wherewith Christ will embrace us!

Such was the man as known to us here. All this and more may be found in the excellent History of Rowley by Mr. Gage.¹ But there is a good deal about this rather neglected worthy which was unknown in 1840 but has turned up since in England, though only accessible in published abstracts. The following from the Calendar of State Papers throws some light on his life in England and the circumstances of his emigration:

1638-39, Feb. 6 (about). *In the certificate for York, the archbishop replies to the 12th article of the instructions: — "I do not find in my diocese any inclination to innovation in anything which concerns either the doctrine or the discipline of the Church of England;"² only I find that too many of your Majesty's subjects inhabiting in these parts of Yorkshire are gone into New England, among which there is one Rogers, that had a benefice well worth 240 l. per annum, gone, whom I have laboured by the space of two years in sundry conferences to reclaim, and refused to suffer*

¹ The History of Rowley, by Thomas Gage, with an Address by the Rev. James Bradford, 1840. Most of the information about Mr. Rogers is contained in the Address and in Appendix A to the Address.

² This reminds one of the inability of the younger Weller to see his father in court.

him to resign; but at the last, he going on shipboard for New England, wrote his letter to me, acknowledged that I had given him good counsel, but in vain, and prayed me to accept his resignation, for gone he was for New England." Against which is written in the margin, in the King's hand, "*An honnester man must bee put in place.*" Endorsed: Received 11 Feb. 1638-9.¹

One would very much like to see Mr. Rogers's letter of acknowledgment which he wrote to Archbishop Neile, for Neile was by no means favorably inclined to the Puritans — being indeed Laud's original patron and intimate friend, personally and theologically. Moreover it seems that Neile, being as lenient as seemed to him possible to Rogers's nonconformity, was merely continuing the course of his predecessor; for Rogers says in his will, that —

the Lord gave me a call to a public charge at Rowley, in Yorkshire, where by the gentleness of Toby Matthew I was favored both for subscription and ceremonies, and enjoyed my liberty in the ministry about seventeen years in comfortable sort, till for refusing to read that accursed book that allowed sports on God's holy Sabbath, or Lord's day, I was suspended, . . .

Tobie Matthew, above mentioned, who greatly favored him in subscription and in conformity to the ceremonies, was otherwise known as his Grace the Archbishop of York. It seems that the difficulty arising from Rogers's refusal to read the Book of Sports was the first and only serious trouble that he ever had with his ecclesiastical superiors.

Rogers's call to the rectorship of St. Peter's in Rowley, East Riding of Yorkshire, came in the form of a presentation to the benefice by his patron Sir Francis Barrington, whose private chaplain he had been for some years, and who was one of the greatest men in Essex, a man of powerful family connection and very ancient descent, — he quartered the arms of England. Sir Thomas Barrington, a son of Sir Francis, was one of the adventurers for the Providence Island Plantation, of which Company Pym was treasurer; and it was doubtless through Sir Thomas's influence that the Company offered Mr. Rogers a cure in their settlement in February, 1637-38, and

¹ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1638-1639, pp. 430, 431.

again later.¹ At Pym's death the finances of the Company were found in very bad shape.² Sir Thomas was a heavy loser, as appeared when Mr. Rogers applied after his death to his heir, Sir John Barrington, for preferment and for certain money which he claimed.³ There is evidently much autobiographical matter contained in Mr. Rogers's letters in the Barrington Hall collection.⁴ It should be noted that Mr. Rogers left a benefice of the value of £240 to come to New England where his annual stipend seems never to have exceeded £60.

¹ Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574-1660, pp. 263, 264.

² Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, Report vii. App. p. 538.

³ There is a letter dated November 6, 1621, from Mr. Rogers to Lady Joan Barrington, the wife of Sir Francis, who was a daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell and so an aunt of the Protector (*ibid.* p. 543). Another letter dated September 28, 1626, tells of Mr. Rogers's sickness and recovery (*ibid.* p. 543). In 1644 Sir Thomas Barrington died and was succeeded by his son Sir John, and Mr. Rogers wrote to Mr. John Kendall at Sir John Barrington's on December 8 of that year —

A long letter about what the late Sir Thomas Barrington had promised him in the way of preferment. He alludes to his diligent attendance on and comfort to Sir Thomas "on his sad and deep distemper of melancholy; not only in the day but in the night watchings and midnight rising he (Rogers) did much to impare his health." (On the back is the copy of an answer by Kendall dated 1 May, 1645, in which he says that Sir Thomas had left his son burdened with 10000 *l*) (*ibid.* p. 570).

Mr. Rogers wrote again November 9, 1645, and once more December 9, 1646: "He mentions that old Lady B. promised him 100*l*, and that Mr. Bridge said that he himself paid it to Robert Barrington, to be sent to New England for Rogers." On April 25, 1646, "John Barrington to Ezekiel Rogers in England. — Copy of a letter on the subject of Rogers's claims." Was he then in England? See also a letter of the Rev. Daniel Rogers, a brother of Ezekiel, of July 7, 1647 (*ibid.* p. 570).

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 543, 570.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1908

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 27 February, 1908, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY *pro tempore* reported that letters had been received from Mr. JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE accepting Resident Membership, and from Mr. JAMES KENDALL HOSMER accepting Corresponding Membership.

The Council reported that at its Stated Meeting, held on the sixth instant, Mr. THOMAS MINNS had been unanimously elected a Member of the Council for the unexpired term ending 21 November, 1909, to fill the vacancy caused by the declination of service, on account of absence from Boston, of Mr. JOHN ELIOT THAYER.

The Rev. CHARLES EDWARDS PARK of Boston was elected a Resident Member.

The Rev. HENRY A. PARKER spoke as follows :

The Rev. Stephen Bachelor, whose arrival Winthrop records June 5, 1632, he being then aged seventy-one, quite the most aged of the nonconformist clergy who came to New England, was, as will be remembered, a nonconformist to the Massachusetts establishment as he had been to the established church in England. A notice of him which shows something of the extent and character of his influence in England, some time after his departure to this country, may be of interest.

The year of Mr. Bachelor's departure from England Sir Robert Paine was Sheriff of Hampshire, and was also chosen churchwarden of the parish of Barton Stacey, which adjoined the parish of Wherwell, — of which Mr. Bachelor was the minister, or had been the minister just before, as I imagine, though Mr. Pope places the time of his incumbency there as only lasting from January 26, 1587–88, to 1601. At any rate Sir Robert, three years later, found himself in very serious difficulties which he ascribed to the influence of the teaching of Mr. Bachelor as follows:

1635, Dec. 1. Petition of Sir Robert Paine to the same [i. e. the Council]. Petitioner being in 1632 Sheriff of Hants, was also chosen Churchwarden of Barton Stacey¹ in the same county, and finding the church and chancel ruinous and indecent, at his own charge beautified some part thereof, intending and offering fair hangings for the chancel. But some of the parishioners, petitioner's tenants, having been formerly misled by Stephen Bachelor, a notorious inconformist, had demolished a consecrated chapel at Newton Stacey, neglected the repair of their parish church, maliciously opposed petitioner's intent, and executed many things in contempt of the canons and the bishop. There being divers suits in the ecclesiastical and temporal courts between petitioner and Robert Cooper and others, his tenants of the manor of Barton Stacey, the Lords on complaint directed three trials at law, and in the meantime ordered all the suits to be stayed. Petitioner has conformed to that order, but his tenants have slighted the same, and have sued him in the Ecclesiastical Court at Winchester, presented him in the Archbishop's metropolitanical visitation, and served him with a subpoena for costs for not filing a bill against them in the Star Chamber. Prays that he may be allowed to proceed against them in the High Commission upon articles exhibited two years ago.²

This was by no means the end of the matter, but that does not concern us. One would like to know what was the beginning of the trouble and what Mr. Bachelor thought of Sir Robert. Sir Robert clearly had a low opinion of Mr. Bachelor.

The Hon. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, a Corresponding Member, read the following paper:

¹ Barton Stacey, a tithing and parish in Hants. The parish includes also the townships of Bransbury, Drayton, and Newton Stacey.

² Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1635, pp. 520, 521.

THE SECESSION OF SPRINGFIELD FROM CONNECTICUT.

Massachusetts never had among her people a larger proportion of men of mark, ambitious and deserving of high station and wide influence in public life, than in 1633.

The Colony at this time reached hardly as far as thirty miles from the sea coast. It had a slender population, mainly of poor people. Cotton said that its greatest poverty was a poverty of men. Cotton Mather spoke of it later as at this time "like an hive overstocked with bees."¹ A vote of the freemen of Watertown, on August 30, 1635, serves to corroborate this assertion, though evidently drawn to put on record a justification for what might be claimed to be an act of selfishness and unfair exclusion. It reads thus:

Agreed by the consent of the freemen (in consideration there be too many inhabitants in the Towne, & the Towne thereby in danger to be ruined) that no forrainer comming into the Towne, or any family arising among ourselves shall have any benefit either of Commonage or Land undivided, but what they shall purchase, Except that they buy a man's right wholly in the Towne.²

Wherever the truth in these respects may lie, the Colony was rich, too rich, in political leaders. Differences between these — partly honest differences of policy, and partly personal rivalries — led to the emigration in 1635 and 1636 to the banks of the Connecticut River.

The General Court of the Colony consented to it only with the proviso that the emigrants should continue under its government, and on March 31, 1636, a commission was issued to "Roger Ludlowe Esq^r, Will^m Pinchon Esq^r," and six others not given that suffix of distinction, or the greater part of them, to order for one year "the affaires of the said plantaçon," with power "to convent" the inhabitants, from time to time, in the form of a court. All this, however, was expressly declared to be without prejudice to the rights held under the Earl of Warwick's patent of 1631. These were possessed by several men of rank and distinction, including Lord Saye and Sele, Lord Brooke, John Pym and John Hampden, who were then about to erect a trading post and fort at Saybrook.³

¹ *Magnalia* (1820), i. 74.

² Bond, *Genealogies and History of Watertown*, p. 995.

³ *Massachusetts Colony Records*, i. 170.

Ludlow and Pyncheon had both been assistants in the Colony. Ludlow had also served as Deputy-Governor, and Pyncheon as Treasurer.

This emigration was an emigration of communities rather than of individuals.

The church was the centre and soul of the early New England town. The pastors of the church were leaders in all public affairs. Of the clergy of the Bay settlements at this time, a majority favored the policy of confining suffrage to church members. A vigorous minority were opposed to it, and carried with them many of the laity, including several of those who stood first in respect to property, station, and public influence. Those embracing their views were especially numerous in Newtown, Watertown, and Dorchester, and these three settlements (for they were hardly yet to be called towns) were in large part transferred from the banks of the bay to the banks of the great river. The seceders carried the town names with them, and each of the three new settlements maintained its separate existence as a village community. That they might carry the ark of their covenant with them, each company of planters sought to bear off with them their church organization.¹

Two succeeded. The Newtown church had been formed in 1633. The Rev. Thomas Hooker, its pastor, was a leader in the emigration movement, and a plan was arranged by which the Rev. Thomas Shepard, who afterwards became his son-in-law, should organize a new church to take the place of his. This was accomplished February 1, 1635-36, and its members, several of whom had come over from England with Mr. Shepard in the previous autumn, bought the houses to be vacated by the Hooker party, to their mutual advantage.² In the following June the old church was removed, to become the First Church of Newtown in Connecticut.³

The pastors of the Dorchester church did not favor the scheme of removal. One of them, however, died in March, 1636, and the other was swept off with the tide of his people. The Dorchester church of Massachusetts therefore became the Dorchester church of Connecticut,

¹ Trumbull, *History of Connecticut*, i. 11.

² Johnson, *Wonder-working Providence*, pp. 75, 77; Holmes, *History of Cambridge*, 1 *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vii. 15, 16; *Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut*, p. 86 note.

³ Winthrop's *Journal* (1853), i. 214 note.



William Dymally
Engraved for the Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from the original on the possession of the
Essex Institute

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William Pynchon
 Engraved for the Federal Society of Massachusetts
 from the original in the possession of the
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although on August 23, 1636, a new church was formed to take its place in the old colony.¹

In Watertown the original church organization was continuously maintained by those who remained on the soil.²

A town organization was maintained in each of the three places, without a break, although Governor Winthrop speaks of "three towns" having gone to Connecticut.³

William Pyncheon, a man of means and ability, was the principal inhabitant of Roxbury. He led off a few families from that place to join those leaving the other towns; but the church and the main body of the people remained, and there was nothing that resembled a removal of Roxbury as an organized community. He took letters of dismission and recommendation to the church set up at Windsor, to serve till his company should form a new one, at the place of their settlement.⁴

The name Agawam had been originally given to what is now and was in 1636 called Ipswich.⁵ It was adopted for the second time by Pyncheon and his followers for the place on the river situated above Enfield Falls, where they concluded to remain. In the old records and letters of that day it is variously spelled as Agawam, Agawom, Aggawam, Agaam, and Aguam.

Pyncheon's selection of this site for his new town was the farsighted act of a sagacious trader. As the northernmost of the five river settlements it was in a position where there could be no competition in dealing with the Indians. For those ranging the wilderness then covering northern New England, it was the natural market to which to bring their beaver skins; and it was in these that there was the greatest chance of immediate profit. Pyncheon in fact enjoyed for years a lucrative trade in them. He also had considerable commercial dealings with Hartford for some time. There he had a close business connection with one of the leading men, Jonathan Gilbert,

¹ 1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ix. 154; Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut, p. 512; Stiles, History of Ancient Wethersfield, i. 24. But see Records of the First Church of Dorchester, Massachusetts, 1636-1734, p. vii. The records of the Windsor Church, now extant, do not embrace anything pertaining to its life at Dorchester, Massachusetts.

² Colonial Records of Connecticut, i. 2.

³ Journal, i. 203.

⁴ New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxv. 21.

⁵ Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 26, 103, 123.

through whom he sold goods shipped up the river and imported from England.¹

For merely agricultural purposes, the land at Agawam was no better than that below the falls. An exploring party from Dorchester had been over the ground in 1635, with a view to the removal there of that town, but preferred the lower site subsequently selected at Windsor.² Its selection by Pyncheon as the place of his settlement was probably largely due to the fact that it was at the intersection of the great Indian trail, leading west from Massachusetts Bay, with the river which formed the natural channel of intercourse between the Northern wilderness and Long Island Sound.³

Pyncheon built a warehouse and landing-place at the head of navigation on the Connecticut River, near the foot of Enfield Falls. Its site soon became known as Warehouse Point and a village grew up around it which still exists under that name. From hence it was easy to ship the peltry collected at Agawam.⁴

The emigrants, as a whole, were a choice body of men, though perhaps overweighted by a superabundance of leaders. Cotton Mather speaks of these as "worthy, and learned, and genteel persons going to be buried alive on the banks of Connecticut, having been first slain by the ecclesiastical impositions and persecutions of Europe."⁵

Four separate settlements were made by those who thus left their homes in Massachusetts; at Agawam, under Pyncheon, at Hartford, at Windsor, and at Wethersfield.

The first of the general courts contemplated by the Commission was held at Newtown (later known as Hartford) on April 26, 1636. Agawam was not represented, and did not appear by her representatives at the united councils until the fifth court, on November 1, 1636, in which Mr. Pyncheon sat as one of the Commissioners.

In the following February the Massachusetts names of the three southern plantations were dropped, and by order of the court "Newtowne" became "Hartford Towne," "Watertowne" became "Wythersfield," and Dorchester became Windsor.⁶

¹ New England Historical and Genealogical Register, iv. 230.

² 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vi. 580.

³ New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xlviii. 263.

⁴ Stiles, History of Ancient Windsor, i. 429.

⁵ Magnalia, i. 74.

⁶ Colonial Records of Connecticut, i. 7.

In founding Agawam, the inhabitants signed a written compact of local government. This was dated May 14, 1636, and states that it was not contemplated or desired that more than forty or fifty families should settle there.¹ Mr. Pyncheon was probably apprehensive from the first that if there were a large population, his trading interests might be prejudiced by competition.

From the first the Connecticut emigrants were recognized as four distinct companies, though starting out on a common errand. Of the eight persons named on the commission from the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, each of these companies contributed two. William Pyncheon and Henry Smith, afterwards his step-son and son-in-law,² were those thus named to represent the Roxbury party.

This commission, the Connecticut authorities afterwards insisted, rested quite as much on the assumed assent of the grantees under the Warwick patent, represented on the spot by John Winthrop, Jr., as on any inherent authority of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

The real object of procuring such a paper from Massachusetts became a matter of dispute at a Congress of the United Colonies of New England held in 1648. The Massachusetts Commissioners who sat in it contended that —

those whoe went from Watertoune and Camberidge and Roxebury and Dorchester, . . . tooke possession in our name and Right and had a Commission of Gouverment from vs, and some ordinance for their defence, and in this State they remained a good Space.³

The Connecticut Commissioners replied to this that —

the Masachusetts by vertue of the Expressions in their patent of goeing to the South Sea clayme an interest to Sprinkefiled (WarroNoco &c) after they were settled Under another Government, yet they claim not the licke at Forte Oraina that lyeth without any Controversy within their Limites upon that ground; and wee further concaue if the Massachusetts setle any plantacion upon Hudson Riuer by vertue of their graunte

¹ Holland, *History of Western Massachusetts*, i. 24.

² *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xxxv. 21. Dr. H. R. Stiles, in his *History of Ancient Windsor*, i. 54, and of *Ancient Wethersfield*, i. 39, seems to confuse him with the Rev. Henry Smith, who later came over from England and became the minister in Wethersfield. See his *Ancient Wethersfield*, i. 154.

³ Hazard, *Historical Collections*, ii. 113.

theire present plea for free egress and regress in and out of that Riuer would not bee founde of a prevaileing Power.¹

They added that —

The Commission of Gouvernment mentioned tacken from the Massachusets was taken Salva Jury of the enterest of the Gentlemen whoe had the Patent of Conecticut, that Comission takeinge rise from the desier of the People who removed, whoe judged it in Conveniencie² to goe away without any frame of Gouvernment, not from any Claymes of the Masa-chusets Jurisdiction over them by vertew of Patent.³

That patent, it will be recollected, embraced "all that part of New England in America which lies and extends itself from a river there called Narragansett river, the space of forty leagues upon a straight line near the sea-shore towards the Southwest, West, and by South or West, as the coast lieth towards Virginia, . . . North and South in latitude and breadth and in length and longitude of and within all the breadth aforesaid, throughout the main lands there, from the Western ocean to the South sea."⁴ This, if it refers to the head waters of the Narragansett, covers all that is now Connecticut and a strip of Massachusetts reaching as far north as Worcester.⁵

Lord Saye and Sele, the leading patentee, had given assurances of his friendly interest in the proposed emigration from Massachusetts to the great river,⁶ but Winthrop, whom he and his associates had sent out as their Governor, probably went beyond his instructions in countenancing the issuance of the commission, for it was not long before we find him joining with Sir Harry Vane and Hugh Peter in a protest, in behalf of the Warwick patentees against the setting up of claims to land-titles in the towns established under the new jurisdiction.⁷

Massachusetts, however, had, six months before, asserted her dominion over these settlements, which had been already then begun.

¹ Hazard, Historical Collections, ii. 118.

² Trumbull says that this reads "inconvenient" in the manuscript Journals of the Congress (Historical Notes on the Constitutions of Connecticut, p. 5).

³ Hazard, Historical Collections, ii. 119.

⁴ Trumbull, History of Connecticut, i. 525.

⁵ Bowen, Boundary Disputes of Connecticut, 15.

⁶ Trumbull, History of Connecticut, i. 544.

⁷ Winthrop's Journal, i. 477.

On September 3, 1635, her General Court ordered that "every town upon Connecticut shall have liberty to chuse their owne constables, who shall be sworne by some magistrate of this Court."¹

The earliest courts of Connecticut consisted of the magistrates from each town who were named in the original commission of March 3, 1636. That expired by its own limitation on March 3, 1637, and there must have been, though the Colonial Records do not explicitly state it, some kind of an election between the court of February 21, 1636-37, and the next, which was held on March 28, 1637.

This is indicated by three things.

1. "Mr. Welles," who was not named in the Massachusetts commission, sits at the latter court as one of the magistrates, and is named next after Mr. Ludlow. This was Thomas Welles of Hartford, who in 1639 became treasurer of the Colony and in 1655 its Governor. He must have owed his seat to the choice either of his town or of all the towns.² William Westwood of Hartford, one of the magistrates named in the Massachusetts commission, was apparently not elected at this time as a magistrate, and Mr. Welles was probably chosen instead by the inhabitants.

2. At the court next following, on May 1, 1637, in addition to the magistrates there are entered, as sitting, nine persons styled "Committees," three of whom come from each of the lower towns. These men are evidently legislative representatives sent by each of these three settlements, — prototypes of the deputies provided for in the colonial Constitution of 1639.

3. At the last court held during this year — the first year after the expiration of the commission — on February 9, 1637-38, it was voted to dissolve, and ordered that the attendance of those at present "members" of the General Court was not thereafter "to be expected, except they be newly chosen in the next General Court."³ The term "members" was here apparently used to signify both the magistrates and the members of the several town committees.

The next General Court opened on March 8, 1637-38, and was,

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 160.

² Dr. Henry Bronson states, I think mistakenly, that Mr. Welles was for a short time a magistrate under the Massachusetts commission. New Haven Colony Historical Society Papers, iii. 296.

³ Colonial Records of Connecticut, i. 12.

as previously ordered, a Court of Election. The plan pursued, it would seem, was to invest the committees from the several towns with the right by a general vote of choosing all the magistrates. No doubt each committee made its nominations for those from its own town. Referring to this occasion, the Rev. Thomas Hooker wrote, a few months later, in a letter which has been preserved, that —

at the time of our election, the committees from the town of Agawam came in with other towns, and chose their magistrates, installed them into their government, took oath of them for the execution of justice according to God, and engaged themselves to submit to their government, and the execution of justice by their means and dispensed by the authority which they put upon them by choice.¹

At this court Mr. Pyncheon and Mr. Smith sat among the magistrates. The Colonial Records of Connecticut do not show that there had ever been a committee from Agawam in attendance at any previous General Court, nor at that. None apparently was elected by the inhabitants of that settlement until March 28, 1638. The town records of Agawam (now Springfield) make this entry concerning it in the minutes of a meeting on that date:

There was a free choyce according to an order from Mr. Ludloe by the plantation of two Good men, Committys for the General Court to be at Hartford the 4th of April 1638. The partys chosen are Mr. George Moxom and Jehue Burr.²

Agawam had been settled on both sides of the river, but it still had only a handful of inhabitants.³

President Dwight of Yale College tells us that of the first planters one was a tailor and another a carpenter. The tailor bought from an Indian chief a tract three miles square in what afterwards became known as West Springfield. He was in need of a wheelbarrow, and the carpenter had made one. The tailor offered him either this land for it, or a suit of clothes, and he wisely chose the land.⁴

This carpenter, whose name tradition has not handed down, was,

¹ Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, i. 13.

² Burt, *First Century of the History of Springfield*, i. 152.

³ As late as 1639 there were probably not over fifteen men there. Green, *Springfield, 1636-1886*, p. 45.

⁴ Dwight's *Travels in New-England and New-York*, i. 319.

no doubt, the Jehu Burr chosen on the committee of representatives. His name is written in such a way in the ancient script of some of the public records that it is difficult to say whether the penman meant to write it as John or as Jehu.¹ Apparently he was an illiterate man, for his signature affixed to an important document on record was made by a mark. He is described by Hubbard, under the name of John Burr, in his *General History of New England*, as following the trade mentioned and one of the principal men among the Roxbury company.²

At the April Court at Hartford (April 5, 1638), Mr. Pyncheon and Mr. Smith again sat as magistrates, and Mr. Moxom and Mr. Burr appear as the committee from Agawam. Probably the two magistrates had simply held over until this time, and were now elected on the nomination of the committee.

Mr. Moxom was the minister of Agawam, and a graduate of Cambridge University from Sydney College.³ Burr, a year after Springfield had identified itself with Massachusetts, removed to Southern Connecticut and made that colony his future home.⁴

In 1637 the Pequot war had been fought, and a heavy expense incurred. Of this it was thought fair that Agawam should bear its share, and at a court held on February 9, 1637-38, a tax of £620 had been laid to defray the cost of it. Of this sum £86, 16 shillings was assessed upon Agawam, about a third of the sum levied on Hartford. Mr. Pyncheon's shallop had been used in the expedition,⁵ but Agawam had sent no men. She had quite enough to do to defend herself, far removed as she was from her sister towns.

Roger Ludlow writes to Pyncheon under date of May 17, 1637:

I have received your letter wherein you express that you are well fortified, but few hands. For my part, my spirit is ready to sink within me when, upon alarms which are daily, I think of your condition; that if the case be never so dangerous, we can neither help you, nor you us. . . .

¹ *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, v. 472.

² *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vi. 308.

³ *Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts*, ii. 283.

⁴ *Morris, Early History of Springfield*, p. 11; *Todd (The Burr Family)* puts the date of his removal as 1644. He represented Fairfield in the Connecticut General Court in 1645, his name being enrolled as "Jehu Burre" (*Colonial Records of Connecticut*, i. 130).

⁵ *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, i. 10, 13.

I can assure you it is our great grief we cannot, for our plantations are so gleaned by that small fleet we sent out that those that remain are not able to supply our watches, which are day and night, that our people are scarce able to stand upon their legs.¹

Early in 1637 the General Court of Massachusetts Bay authorized the Council to treat with "o^r frends vpon Conectecot" in regard to matters of common defence against the Indians, and "to proceede wth them in the said treaty as occation shall require."² Correspondence resulted in which, as noted by Governor Winthrop in his Journal under date of April 1, 1636 (doubtless a mistake for 1637), the representatives of Connecticut stated "their unpreparedness to declare themselves in the matter of government, in regard of their engagement to attend the answer of the gentlemen of Saybrook about the same matter."³ In May, 1637, John Haynes was in Saybrook on his way to his new home,⁴ and doubtless talked this question over with the younger Winthrop.

Early in the following month (June 2, 1637) the General Court of Connecticut ordered that forty men should be despatched from Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield "to set down in the Pequioitt Countrey & River in place convenient to mayntaine o^r right y^t God by Conquest hath given to us," and this was followed upon June 26 by an order that —

Mr. Haine and Mr. Ludlowe shall goe to the mouth of the River to treat and Conclude wth o^r frend^{es} of the Bay either to joine wth their forces in p^rsecutinge o^r designe against o^r enemies or if they see cause by aduise to interprise any Accon accordinge to the force we haue. And to parle wth the baye aboute o^r settinge downe in the Pequioitt Countrey.⁵

It will be observed that this action strongly confirms the conclusion that after March 3, 1637, Connecticut, if it did not claim to be a self-governing body, at least no longer acknowledged any political dependence on Massachusetts.

The negotiations between the two colonies thus commenced were

¹ Letter quoted in Taylor, Roger Ludlow, p. 70.

² Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 192.

³ Winthrop's Journal, i. 259.

⁴ Ibid. i. 260.

⁵ Colonial Records of Connecticut, i. 10.

followed up during the following year (1638), at Boston, on the invitation of Governor Winthrop.

At the General Court of Connecticut held February 9, 1637-38, John Burr was appointed collector for Agawam, and it was ordered that "noe man in this River nor Agawam shall goe vpp River amonge the Indians" to trade for corn until otherwise ordered.¹

The object of this was to give a monopoly of this trade to Mr. Pyncheon; but for the benefit of the lower towns he was to sell five hundred bushels there, if he could get as much from the Indians, at five shillings a bushel, "if hee can save by that;" otherwise at five shillings, two pence, or more if need be. No Indian bringing corn down the river was to be paid more than four shillings a bushel for it.²

Agawam was also required to provide and keep on hand, by way of military supplies, seven corselets, half a barrel of powder, and a hundred and fifty pounds of lead.

A bitter controversy arose as to the manner in which Mr. Pyncheon had fulfilled his undertaking as to supplying corn to the lower towns. He was charged with acting in bad faith. A trial followed in March at Hartford. He made a vigorous defence, Mr. Moxom appearing as his counsel. The magistrates asked the opinion of the two Hartford ministers as to whether the facts proved established the accusation, and they both (the Rev. Thomas Hooker and the Rev. Samuel Stone) said that it showed that Mr. Pyncheon had violated his oath as a magistrate.

The matter came up for final disposition before a court held at Hartford April 5, 1638, at which Mr. Pyncheon was present, as one of the magistrates, and it was there adjudged that he had not been "soe carefull to p^rmote the publique good in the trade of Co^rn as hee was bound to do." For this he was fined forty bushels of corn.³ The General Court which convicted him offered at the same time an olive branch by granting him a monopoly of the beaver trade at Agawam.

This traffic with the Indians brought large returns, so long as it was under the exclusive control of one man. Subsequently, when thrown open to competition, the profits became so reduced that farm-

¹ Colonial Records of Connecticut, i. 11.

² Ibid. i. 13.

³ Ibid. i. 19.

ing was found to pay better.¹ The vote of censure, however, stung Mr. Pyncheon too deeply to let him hesitate as to sacrificing his grant of monopoly. It was certainly an impolitic act on the part of his associates to deal out such a sentence against the head and centre of the Agawam plantation, if they desired to retain it within their jurisdiction.

It is probable, however, that he had been sounded before this as to the scheme by this time under serious consideration, for setting up a new commonwealth upon the upper waters of the Connecticut, and had been found not in favor of it. The plan as finally developed was the work, we are told by one of our oldest authorities, of six or eight of the leading men of the three lower towns.² Among them, no doubt, were John Haynes, Thomas Hooker, Roger Ludlow, Thomas Welles, George Wyllys and Edward Hopkins. The formal draft of the "Fundamental Orders" was probably from the hand of Roger Ludlow.

In determining all the causes which led Agawam to draw off when this project was agitated, it will be necessary to review events of preceding years.

American geography at this period presented almost an unknown field. No map could be constructed in which patents did not overlap. As has been seen, the emigrants to the Connecticut river went out under a show of authority derived partly from the patent of the Massachusetts Bay Company and partly from that given by the Earl of Warwick. Governor Winthrop regarded it as doubtful whether the new Dorchester on the Connecticut (that is, Windsor) was not within the bounds of Massachusetts.³

When John Winthrop, Jr., after the expiration of his term as Governor and his return from Saybrook to Boston, desired to acquire a title to Fisher's Island, he was not content until he had obtained a grant of it from Massachusetts. The General Court, however, was careful to add to the conveyance, "so far as is o^r power, reserving the right of Connecticut & Saybrooke."⁴

¹ Johnson, *Wonder-working Providence*, p. 199.

² Roger Wolcott's Memoir, Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, ii. 326.

³ Journal, i. 216.

⁴ This was on October 7, 1640 (Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 304). Connecticut assented in 1641 (Colonial Records of Connecticut, i. 64).

On August 30, 1637, an ecclesiastical synod was held at Newtown. It was attended by the teaching elders of all New England, and seats were provided for the magistrates. The Rev. Thomas Hooker of Hartford was one of the moderators. He had come on some weeks before with his colleague, Mr. Stone, and on August 5 was at Boston, where Roger Ludlow and William Pyncheon had also come from Connecticut, with a view of treating for a confederation between the two jurisdictions.¹ A day was set for a conference between them and representatives of Massachusetts, and Plymouth was also invited to join in it. The notice given to that colony was, however, so short that it sent no delegates.²

The result was that some of the magistrates of Massachusetts prepared a draft of articles of confederation, which was discussed, and an agreement reached that it should be referred for ratification to the proper authorities in each colony, that is, to the General Court of Massachusetts and "the magistrates and people" in Connecticut.³

It would seem that Massachusetts at first regarded it as provisionally in force, before final ratification; for on November 30, 1637, her General Court voted that inasmuch as the Pequots had been conquered, and their lands "are by iust title of conquest fallen to vs, & o^r freinds & associats vpon the ryver of Connecticut," and so peace secured to such as should settle "at Pecoit & Quinapiack & the parts beyond towards the Dutch, wee do hereby declare the iust right & title wth o^r selues & o^r said associats vpon Conecticut have to all the said lands & territories, & wth all it is o^r desire that o^r said associats (according to the articles of confederation agreed vpon between vs) wilbee pleased to appoint 2 comittees sufficiently authorized, to give o^r comittees a meeting at Newtoun so soone as the season of the yeare will pmit" to decide as to the disposition of the lands and as to a suitable portion of the expenses of the war to be paid by future settlers on them.⁴ Later (in 1641), however, the General Court of Massachusetts referred to the articles on which the negotiations in August, 1637, were based as "articles claimed by

¹ Winthrop's Journal, i. 281.

² Ibid. i. 284.

³ Letter of Thomas Hooker to Gov. Winthrop. Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, i. 9; Winthrop's Journal, i. 237, 285, 286.

⁴ Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 216.

Connecticut to have been ppounded to them by authority of this Court," but declared by way of "answer that they were ppounded & drawn out onely by some of the Ma^{trats} of each pty, wth out any order or alowance of this Court." ¹

It is possible that the articles of confederation relied on in the vote of November 30, 1637, may have been some concluded with the commissioners sent by Connecticut to Saybrook on June 26 of that year, which have failed of record in either colony. We have surer ground on which to stand with regard to action taken in the direction of confederation in 1638. On May 29 of that year, Roger Ludlow writes from Windsor to the "Governor and brethren of the Massachusetts Bay" a commission of authority to John Haynes, William Pyncheon and John Steele to treat with them on this subject. It opens with a reference to "There being of late a generall assembly of these plantacons in this River, & falling into consideraçon of divers p̃ticulers that might or may concerne the generall good of these p̃ts," and states that this resulted in deputing the three persons named to confer with the Massachusetts authorities as to some "rules, articles & agreemts" for the purpose of combining and uniting the Connecticut plantations with Massachusetts Bay.

The signature to this missive was "R. Ludlowe in the name of the whole." ² His name stood first in the original commission from the Bay Colony, of March 31, 1636. It was always put first, in the list of those holding the courts of Connecticut, in the records of that jurisdiction until and including that of the General Court of May 1, 1637. During that month John Haynes removed to the river colony, and as he so recently had been Governor of Massachusetts, and was a man of high social position, it seems probable that by vote of the next court he was elected a magistrate. Two General Courts were held in June, the record of which, contrary to the usual custom, contained no minute of the magistrates present. The next assembled November 14, 1637, and in the records of that, Mr. Haynes's name stands first, as it does in the records of all that follow, until the date of the adoption of the Eleven Fundamental Orders in 1639, under which he was elected the first Governor.

It is evident, therefore, that Roger Ludlow signed the commission

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 320, 321.

² 5 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 260.

of May 29, 1638, as the ranking magistrate, next after John Haynes, who could not well authenticate a commission to himself.

The Records of Massachusetts, under date of June 2, 1641, assert that at a General Court held at Cambridge in June, 1638, articles of agreement for that purpose were "agitated and brought to some issue," as the result of negotiations with commissioners from Connecticut who were there present; and that at this time —

Springfeild, then called Agawam, was claymed by the Court (though by occasion of some private speach &c) to belong to us; & it was then agreed by the Court, & yeilded unto by their cõmission^r, that so much of the ryver of Connecticut as should fall wth in the line of o' patent should continue under o' iurisdiction, (& it was then taken for granted that Springfeild would fall to us wth out question;) & those articles had then benee fully agreed on between the Co't & their cõmission^r, had there not bene some question about their granting us free passage up the river, in regard of the lords interest, (as they alleadged).¹

This reference to the Lords refers, of course, to Lord Saye and Sele, Lord Brooke, and the other owners of the Warwick patent.

The Massachusetts Records for 1638 show that a General Court held at Newtown May 2, 1638, was adjourned "to the 7th of the 4th m^o, being the 5th day of the same week in wth the Quarter Court is," and that an adjourned session was in fact held there on the eighth day of that month (June 8, 1638), at which it was voted that for the future the place of holding courts be transferred to Boston.² The record of this adjourned meeting does not state that any Connecticut matters were taken up. Other sources of authority, however, make it reasonably certain that important negotiations were then had with commissioners sent from Connecticut for that purpose, and that Mr. Pyncheon was one of these.

At a meeting of the Congress of the United Colonies of New England held in New Haven on September 9, 1646, a question arose between Massachusetts and Connecticut as to which had jurisdiction over the plantation then recently made by John Winthrop, Jr., at "Pequot." Massachusetts claimed title by conquest; Connecticut by patent, purchase, and conquest. The record then proceeds thus:

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 321.

² Ibid. i. 229, 230, 232.

It was remembered that in a treaty betwixt them at Cambridg 1638, not perfected, a proposition was made that Pequot river in reference to the conquest should be the bounds betwixt them, but Mr. Fenwick was not then there to pleade the pattent, neither had Connecticut then any title to those lands by purchase or deed of gift from Vncus.¹

The Connecticut Commissioners also claimed that the treaty for a confederation began in June, 1638.² Later a letter from Massachusetts signed by Governor Winthrop and other magistrates, was filed in reply. This seems not to have disputed that the date thus claimed by Connecticut was the true one, and refers to the meeting as held at Cambridge.³

Another and fuller description of the negotiations of 1637 and 1638 is given in the records of the Congress of the United Colonies, held at Boston, July 23, 1649. The Massachusetts commissioners there stated that —

at the meeting at Cambridg about ten or twelve years sence Mr. Pynchon in the behalfe of Sprinkfield declared his desire to bee and remayne vnder our Government, and so haue continewed ever sence without question or word speaking against it that wee remember, till something was moved to that purpose the last yeare at Plimouth.⁴

The Connecticut Commissioners thereupon rejoined —

that Sprinkfield was in Combination with Conectacutt and so owned by the Goernment of the Massachusets is more cleare than to bee left vnder any doubt; propositions being sent in Anno 1637 by the honered Gouvernor lately desseased⁵ to all the plantations vppon that River concerning a Combination with the Massachusets, and Mr. Pinchon in prosecution thereof chosen and sent as Comissioner from that Colonie to acte in the treaty for them in Anno 1638, at which time and not before hee declared his apprehensione that Sprinkfield would fall within the Massachusets line: and was so accepted, without any proufe of what was alledged; and that motion by Mr. Pincheon arose (as is verily conceived) from a present pange of discontent vpon a sensure hee then lay vnder by the Goernment of Conectacutt.⁶

¹ Hazard, Historical Collections, ii. 72.

² Ibid. ii. 111.

³ Ibid. ii. 112.

⁴ Ibid. ii. 137.

⁵ John Winthrop, Senior.

⁶ Hazard, Historical Collections, ii. 139.

This last allusion, unquestionably, is to the vote of the General Court of Connecticut passed April 5, 1638, which has been previously mentioned. Governor Winthrop, under date of June 5, 1638, notes in his Journal,¹ the arrival of Governor Haynes in Massachusetts. That he sent back by him to Connecticut some formal reply to the communication from Ludlow and that in this the question of jurisdiction over Agawam was raised appears from several letters found among the Winthrop Papers. In one of these sent to him by Ludlow, under date of July 3, 1638, the hope is expressed that he will not "take it amisse wee have written backe no thinge aboute yo^r Ppositions sent by Mr. Haines. O^r employm^{ts} are soe many att this tyme wee cannot drawe our people togeather, but as soone as conveniently wee cann, wee intend to consider of it."²

On November 29, 1638, William Spencer of Hartford writes at length³ to Winthrop in regard to the negotiations at Cambridge. The Connecticut Commissioners had reported, to quote his words, that —

when it came vnto the isue, you would have Aggawame joyned vnto you, or else you would not conclud of the Vnion; and to that purpose, they say, you have written to dismiss the same from them; this wth some other, wch I forbear to name vntill I speake wth you, because I presume they are but reports, and soe may be false; but heering the other, I could not tell what to say; only I their left it, and spake no moore aboute it. Now the truth is, S^r, although, for my owne part I do earnestly desier what euer may promote your good, and soe I hope shall doe, yet I must confes I doe not yet see what benifit it canbee vnto you to haue a plantacon soe far remote dependent upon y^e, w^{ch} cann in noe kinds be seruiceable and in the mean tyme may bee very preiedusall vnto the plantaço heer, for they cannot posible bringe aboute some of ther ocations, as it war meet they should, if they bee severd from them. Nay, further, I doe con-ceaue it may bee an ocation of some differece betwixt you and them.

Neither the Records of Massachusetts nor of Connecticut were kept at this period with perfect accuracy or completeness, but it is made reasonably certain by the documents which have been cited that early

¹ Journal, i. 319. Cf. i. 335.

² 5 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 264.

³ Ibid. "You" in this letter evidently refers generally to those who represented Massachusetts at the conference.

in June, 1638,¹ John Haynes, William Pyncheon and John Steele were in Massachusetts as envoys from Connecticut to confer with the General Court as to articles of confederation between the colonies, and to urge certain amendments to those framed in 1637. Connecticut objected to these, for one reason, because they put too much power in the hands of the commissioners, preferring to leave a right of veto to each party to the combination.

The propositions of Massachusetts brought back by Governor Haynes, in June, 1638, no doubt suggested as one of the matters to be agreed on, that Agawam should be treated as belonging to Massachusetts.

Between June and December, 1638, there was a correspondence between Governor Winthrop and the Rev. Mr. Hooker of Hartford, which throws a strong light upon this question. It is of the greater value to the historical student, because the Colonial Records of Connecticut were not written up between the Court of April 5, 1638, and that of January 14, 1638-39. In the colonial record book, ten pages were left for this purpose, but the gap was never filled. A partial explanation is to be found in the fact that John Steele, who had acted as Secretary of the Colony from its first beginnings, was replaced in April, 1639, by the election of Edward Hopkins.

It is hardly possible that so long a period as nine months elapsed without several meetings of the courts, and in the letter mentioned from Mr. Hooker, as will be seen from quotations now to be made, it is explicitly stated that in the fall of 1638 there was a court at which an Agawam culprit was punished for a misdemeanor, on complaint of those representing that settlement.

The Governor in his letter to him had said that the objections of Connecticut to the plan of union seemed ill taken, and complained that Connecticut still exercised jurisdiction at Agawam, saying that "Mr. Pincheon had small encouragement to be under them."² Hooker's answer, written in the fall of 1638, "touching the business

¹ Winthrop's Journal indicates that this conference occurred not in June but July, 1638. He speaks, under date of December 13, 1638, of these three men as having brought their Connecticut amendments to the attention of the General Court at Newtown (i. e. Cambridge) on "the of the 5th" (Journal, i. 342). This probably indicates simply a lapse of memory.

² Winthrop's Journal, ii. 428; Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, i. 2.

of Agaam," says that the sum of the matter lies "partly in the jurisdiction we have exercised, partly in the jurisdiction which, at this time, you so suddenly, so unexpectedly take to yourselves."

As to the former, he says that the jurisdiction of Connecticut (i. e. the organization into a collective body in the nature of a colony) was established by commissioners from four towns, including one from "Agaam." Since Governor Winthrop's letter they had exercised an act of jurisdiction over Agaam. That town had sent one of its inhabitants apprehended in some misdemeanor to the Court of Connecticut, to desire justice, "which they answerably did." Nor, Mr. Hooker continued, could they have done otherwise. The magistrates of Connecticut had been elected by the committees of all the four towns. When the men of Agaam demanded justice from magistrates so chosen, how could it be denied? He went on thus:

Yea, taking it for granted that it is in each inhabitant's liberty in Agaam to choose his jurisdiction (which is to me beyond question) if I was there an inhabitant, I should judge myself bound in conscience to submit to the jurisdiction of the river, and do believe I should make a breach upon the eighth commandment, if I should do otherwise, because in so doing I should steal from mine estate, in that I should rush myself into needless and endless inconveniences: namely to cast myself into that condition that for a matter of five shillings (as the case may fall out) I should put myself to unreasonable charges and trouble to seek for jurisdiction hundred miles off in the wilderness. If Mr. Pyncheon can devise ways to make his oath bind him when he will and loosen him when he list: if he can tell how, in faithfulness to engage himself in a civil covenant and combination (for that he did, by his committees, in their act), and yet can cast it away at his pleasure before he give in sufficient warrant, more than his own word and will, he must find a law in Agaam for it; for it is written in no law nor gospel that ever I read. The want of his help troubles not me, nor any man else I can hear of. I do assure you we know him from the bottom to the brim and follow him in all his proceedings, and trace him in his privy footsteps; only we would have him and all the world to understand, he doth not walk in the dark to us.¹

Hooker evidently writes under the strain of strong feeling. Pyncheon had been one of the leaders of the Connecticut expedition. He had been prospered in his undertakings. He had been honored

¹ Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, i. 14.

with all that Connecticut had to give in the way of official distinction. He had sat year after year as a magistrate, and now, that they were planning to set up a permanent scheme of government suitable for a separate colony, he held off, and was evidently preparing to carry Agawam over to Massachusetts. Hooker viewed him as a kind of traitor. Possibly he had some knowledge also of Pyncheon's attitude towards Calvinism, which a dozen years later brought him under the censure of the orthodox both in Massachusetts and Connecticut. The breach between them was evidently irreconcilable.

Winthrop replied to Hooker in an amicable spirit. There is, he says, a gospel rule to "let the Cloke goe after the Coat; but (I suggest) you will not tye us to that; neither will we require it of you." In lieu of this he proposes "that you should yield in some thinges & we in the rest." He prefers not to go into particulars as to a compromise, adding "but if matters must come to be scanned, I doubt not there will appear some reason on o^r part & that the occasions of yo^r greatest grief arise wholly from your owne Comission wthout any thought of o^r touchinge that course." ¹

While Winthrop must have respected Hooker's ability as a preacher, it may be doubted if he regarded him as well fitted to engage in statecraft. The great source of the disagreements between Massachusetts and Connecticut, he wrote at about this time (December, 1638) in his Journal, was that in Connecticut, for want of civil officers of sufficient training and parts, "the main burden for managing of state business fell upon some one or other of their ministers, (as the phrase and style of their letters will clearly discover)." ²

On January 14, 1638-39, there was a General Court of Connecticut, at which it would seem that the plan of government which Hooker, Ludlow, and others had long been preparing was formally adopted in the name of "the Inhabitants and Residents of Windsor, Harteford and Wethersfield," those of Agawam not participating.³ No reference to Agawam was made in any part of the instrument, unless it can be implied in the provision that each town should send four deputies to the General Court "and whatsoeuer other Townes shall be hereafter added to this Jurisdiction, they shall send so many deputies as the

¹ Life and Letters of John Winthrop, ii. 422.

² Journal, i. 344.

³ Colonial Records of Connecticut, i. 25, 26.

Courte shall judge meete, a reasonable p^rportion to the nūber of Freemen that are in the said Townes being to be attended therein." ¹

Two days later (January 26, 1638-39), Edward Hopkins of Hartford encloses in a letter to Pyncheon a copy of a vote passed, with the latter's consent,² at the General Court of April 5, 1638, at which he was present as a magistrate, requiring him to pay William Whiting forty pounds in corn or merchantable beaver. The benefit of this contract had been assigned by Whiting to Hopkins, who writes to acknowledge the receipt of a partial payment upon it. He adds that he has been ordered by the Court to write to him (Pyncheon) about the fine that is due from him, and for such moneys as are coming to the country for such beaver as he had traded for, and requests him by the next opportunity to give him an answer, for it will be expected of him (Hopkins).³ This order is not to be found in the Colonial Records of Connecticut, but was probably passed at the General Court of January 14, 1638-39, at which the new frame of civil government was adopted. That step was no doubt felt by the three lower river towns to put them in such new relations to Agawam as to make it desirable to come to an early settlement with Pyncheon of all matters pending undetermined.

He was prompt to sever the last thread of political connection, and in the following month declared his attitude, in terms which were unmistakable.

An agreement, under date of February 14, 1638-39, was drawn up, executed and recorded by him in the "Pyncheon" or town records of Agawam, commencing thus:

February 14, 1638. Wee, the inhabitants of Aguam uppon the Quincticut, taking into consideration the want of some fit magistracy among us, Beinge now by God's Providence fallen into the line of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, and it beinge far off to repair thither in such cases of justice as may often fall out among us, doe therefore think it meett by a general consent and vote to ordaine (till we receive further directions from the General Court in the Massachusetts Bay) Mr. William Pyncheon

¹ Colonial Records of Connecticut, i. 20, 24.

² Ibid. i. 18.

³ Massachusetts Historical Society Manuscripts, 81. D. p. 4. I am indebted for this reference to the courtesy of Mr. Charles K. Bolton, the librarian of the Boston Athenæum.

to execute the office of a magistrate in this our plantation of Agawam, etc., etc.¹

The dispensation of Providence, on which this vote relies for its justification, can hardly be the discovery of any new light as to the southern bounds of the Massachusetts patent in that quarter, for no survey to determine it had yet been made. It was no doubt the reorganization of the jurisdiction of Connecticut, in a way which left Agawam out, and — to go one step farther back — the conclusion of Pyncheon to have it left out, and to cast in his lot with the older colony.

Mr. Pyncheon now proceeded to prepare a vindication of his conduct in respect to his contract relations to Connecticut, which was circulated in manuscript throughout the river towns. The General Court of Connecticut appointed John Haynes and Thomas Welles a committee to compose an answer. A letter of this nature, signed by them, "by apointment of the Court" and addressed to "Mr. Pinchon," was sent to him under date of April 18, 1639. "Your 'Apology,'" they say, "is an attempt to vindicate your owne credit to the dishonor and wronginge the Court, a course very offensive and far unbeseeinge on of your quality."²

The Windsor church, which he had joined by letter, made Mr. Pyncheon's action the subject of disciplinary proceedings, and (September 5, 1640) came to the conclusion that he had not made good his defence to the charges against him. He undertook to bring this finding under review by the Roxbury church, and there obtained a favorable report.³

It was evidently not without some hesitation that Massachusetts concluded to treat Agawam as within her jurisdiction. It was a petty

¹ New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xiii. 291; Holland, History of Western Massachusetts, i. 33; 5 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 487.

² Green, Springfield, 1636-1886, pp. 29-36; quoted from the original manuscript now owned by Charles E. Oliver of Boston. The only date of the letter is the 18th day of the second month, but it was addressed on the back "To his lov. friend, M^r Pinchon, at his house in Aguam, lett these bee del^d," and on the first page is a marginal note, apparently in his handwriting, of its receipt on "the 20 April, 1639."

³ Green, Springfield, 1636-1886, pp. 55, 60.

settlement, separated from the Bay towns by a long stretch of wilderness. Access to it by water could be had only by leave of the river towns, or by resort to measures of force or reprisal. Agawam stood, in 1639, to Massachusetts, much as the early settlements at Wyoming stood to Connecticut, or, let us say, as the Philippines now stand to the United States.

In a letter of September 6, 1639, from John Harrison to Governor Winthrop, he addresses it "To the honoorable my truely noble freind, John Winthrop Esq^r Govornour of Masecusets bay and Agawom."¹

Ten years were yet to pass before Massachusetts was found ready to admit to her General Court representatives from this distant possession.

In May, 1639, the newly elected Governor of Connecticut, John Haynes, and Mr. Hooker went on to Boston to propose a renewal of the treaty for a combination between the two colonies, and their overtures were favorably received by the General Court.² In the following August, Governor Haynes, Deputy-Governor Ludlow and Thomas Welles, or any two of them, were appointed by the General Court of Connecticut "to goe to the Rivers mouth to consult with Mr. Fenwicke about a treaty of combinaçon w^{ch} is desi againe to be on foott with the Bay." Fenwick was now Governor of the Saybrook settlement, and Ludlow and Welles went there, taking Mr. Hooker with them, and reported to the next Court that Governor Fenwick had no objections to the proposed combination, provided any settlement of "matters of Bounds" were postponed until he heard further from the Warwick patentees.³

Early in the next year, on April 16, 1640, the inhabitants of Agawam wiped out their Connecticut name by the following vote: "It is ordered that the Plantation be called Springfield."⁴

That there was any moral justification for their course of action was denied by the lower river towns. Thomas Hooker's letter of 1638, already quoted, shows how deep this feeling then was. That it had not abated in 1640, and that some at Agawam were rendered uneasy by it

¹ 5 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 119.

² Winthrop's Journal, i. 360.

³ Colonial Records of Connecticut, i. 30, 31.

⁴ Burt, First Century of the History of Springfield, i. 144.

appears from a letter dated in July of that year from the Rev. George Moxom to Governor Winthrop. It was written to ask if there was any order of the Massachusetts General Court showing that the settlers of Agawam "were dismissed out of the Bay with this pviso, to continue of the Bayes iurisdiction." He gives as his reason for the inquiry that he hears —

some of o' neighboos in the River are doubtful whether we lye not in sin (not in fallinge from theyre governmet but) in fallinge disorderly from them without first orderly debaytinge y^e matter & o' greivances, if we had any. . . . I conceiue some objectio may be grounded on this, that they were possest of vs at that tyme.¹

A few months later, a petition to the General Court of Massachusetts was prepared, which was formally presented to that body in June, 1641, signed by William Pyncheon and others, describing themselves as inhabitants of Springfield, in reference to their separation from Connecticut. In this they say that —

some of their neighbo's & freinds upon Coñecticut have taken offence at them for adhereing to o' government & wthdrawing frō that upon the river, supposing that they had formerly bene dismissed from this iurisdiction, & that wee had bound o'selves (by o' owne act) frō claiming any iurisdiction or interest in Agawam, now Springfeild.

The Court thereupon declared that the commission of March, 1635, was "not granted upon any intent either to dismise the psons frō us, or to determine any thing about the limits of iuridictions," and disposed of other points mentioned by the petitioners as pressed by the Connecticut people, by the reference to the doings at the General Court of June, 1638, to which I have already alluded.

The conclusion of the Court was to put the inhabitants at Springfield under the government of "Willi Pinchen, gent" for the current year, according to the laws of Massachusetts, and with an appeal from his doings in weighty matters to the Court of Assistants at Boston.²

A letter was also agreed on at this Court to the Connecticut authorities, complaining that they had assumed to make grants of lands

¹ 5 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 296.

² Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 320-322.

as far north as Springfield, and stating that "wee intend (by God's help) to know the certainty of o^r limitts." A grant of the kind named had, indeed, been made on September 10, 1640. The General Court of Connecticut then invested Edward Hopkins, the Governor of the Colony, with "the benefitte and liberty of free trade at Waranocoe & att any place thereabout, vppe the Riuer, and all other to be restrayned for the terms of seauen yeres, and the land to be purchased for the Comonwealth."¹ Waranocoe, otherwise written Waranoco or Waranoke, was the Indian name for what is now Westfield, some twelve miles west of Springfield. Under this grant Governor Hopkins, shortly afterwards, purchased the Indian title and built a trading house there.²

The misunderstandings between Massachusetts and Connecticut did not prevent the continuation of negotiations for a combination of the colonies in 1642, nor their favorable conclusion in 1643, when articles of confederation between the United Colonies of New England were finally ratified by all the parties to them.³ Fenwick had personally participated in the final proceedings, and was made in July, 1643, one of the two Connecticut Commissioners to sit in the Congress of the Confederacy.⁴ Not long afterwards Connecticut bought through him the Warwick title. This gave new strength to her claim to Agawam and Waranoco, since Governor Fenwick had always claimed, not without at least strong color of right, that they fell within the bounds of his jurisdiction.

Part of the consideration of the purchase was a grant to Fenwick for ten years of a duty on exports of certain kinds of goods from the mouth of the river. Mr. Pyncheon and the people of Springfield generally refused to pay it, on the ground that Connecticut had no jurisdiction over them.

These differences between Massachusetts and Connecticut were soon carried before the Congress of the United Colonies. That as to Waranoco came up first, and in 1644 (shortly before Fenwick's sale to Connecticut) at the annual Congress held in Hartford, it was adjudged that the settlement there should be under the jurisdiction

¹ Colonial Records of Connecticut, i. 57.

² Trumbull, *History of Connecticut*, i. 115.

³ Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 31, 35, 36; Colonial Records of Connecticut, i. 82.

⁴ Colonial Records of Connecticut, i. 90 note.

of Massachusetts until or unless it should become evident from further proof that it did not belong there.

In the Congress of the following year, before which the Warwick title had passed to Connecticut and that colony had passed a statute laying the tolls on exports which the bargain of sale called for,¹ her right to make such an imposition was challenged by Massachusetts. The decision of the Congress was again of the procrastinating and *in statu quo* order, — namely, that the duties set must be paid, until at some future time the question could be thoroughly examined and finally decided.

At the Congresses of 1646, 1647, and 1648, it was again debated at length before the Commissioners from Plymouth and New Haven, sitting alone (those two colonies being the only ones not interested in the dispute). The original Warwick patent was called for by Massachusetts, and Connecticut could only produce a copy, though offering to authenticate it by the oath of Governor Hopkins. The Commissioners at last, "further considering that the Commissioners from Conectacut have formerly and doe still lay Clayme to Sprinkefield, as falling within their patent and not within the Limits of the Massachusetts," ordered a copy of this patent to be laid in at the Congress of the following year, —

and that in the meane time the two Colonys of the Masachusetts and Conectacut would agree vpon som equall and satisfying way of rooneing the Masachusetts line that it may without further dispute apeare into which of the Jurisdictions Sprinkefield falls, which being don, the suppose that either the question betwixt the twoe Colonyes will cease or there may be a dew consideration of what shall further bee tendered from the order of Conectacut, and in the meantime what was done the last yeare to stand as then concluded.²

Connecticut was apparently not disinclined to this proposal that the south bounds of Massachusetts should be settled by a definite survey to which both governments should be parties, for at her General Court on June 6, 1649, over which Haynes presided as Governor, it was declared that, while as early as 1645 it had treated that place as under the Massachusetts government, "they are yet altogether

¹ Colonial Records of Connecticut, i. 119, 185.

² Hazard, Historical Collections, ii. 123.

unsatisfied that Springfield doth properly fall in within the true limmits of the Massachusetts Patent w^{ch} they much desire may with all convenient speed bee clearly issued in a way of love and peace and according to truth."¹

A few weeks later, at the Boston Congress of July 23, 1649, of which Governor Hopkins was a member, Massachusetts made reply to the counsel that a boundary line should be run in a proper way, by observing that she had run such a line, long before, on an understanding with Governor Fenwick, prior to the acquisition by Connecticut of the Warwick title, and had found Waranoco to be within the lines of their patent, but would consent to have it run again, in connection with Connecticut, provided that colony would pay the whole bill for the re-survey. This Connecticut declined, but offered to pay half the cost of such a survey,² and so the matter dragged along on its way into another century.

In fact, Massachusetts had, as early as 1642, employed two surveyors, who unfortunately were of quite questionable ability, to run the southern boundary of her patent. This required the ascertainment of "the South part of the Charles River, or of any or every part thereof." Three miles south of that began the line that ran west to the South Sea.

It is now conceded that the survey put it eight miles further south. This gave Springfield to Massachusetts and gave her also a long strip of territory embracing a large part of what now forms thirteen Connecticut towns.³

Connecticut followed with surveys of her own. Appeals to the King in Council were threatened by each colony, and negotiations ensued that were protracted for nearly three quarters of a century. At last a compromise line was settled by an agreement ratified by Connecticut in 1713.⁴ It was afterwards found that Connecticut had yielded too much. The towns of Enfield, Suffield, and Woodstock were above the south line of Massachusetts as thus established. Each colony claimed them. In 1749 the General Court of Connecti-

¹ Colonial Records of Connecticut, i. 139.

² Hazard, Historical Collections, ii. 136.

³ A copy of this survey is given in Bowen's *Boundary Disputes of Connecticut*, opposite p. 19. It runs the line below Enfield Falls. See further Bowen's description of the territory included, in chapters iii and iv of his work.

⁴ Colonial Records of Connecticut, v. 390-399.

cut formally asserted her jurisdiction,¹ but it was not until 1804 that Massachusetts finally abandoned her claim.²

In apparent anticipation of the decision of the Commissioners at the Congress of 1649, the General Court of Massachusetts (on May 3, 1649) had adopted retaliatory legislation, laying a tax on all exports from the Bay or imports into Boston harbor of goods owned by citizens of the other New England Colonies. The Commissioners of the three other colonies in the Congress remonstrated against this policy, in a letter addressed to the General Court, suggesting the propriety of its reconsideration on the ground that such action was inconsistent with the tenor and import of the Articles of Confederation. "And in the mean time," they added, "desire to bee spared in all further agitations concerning Springfield."³ This appeal was not without its effect, for on May 23, 1650, the Court, reciting that it is informed that Connecticut intends to repeal her order taxing exports from the river, and meanwhile to suspend its execution, suspended the enforcement of its retaliatory measures until it could be certainly known what the course of the other colony would be.

In 1643, William Pyncheon had again been elected an Assistant in Massachusetts, and on May 14, 1645, the General Court ordered that the Commissioners of the Confederation for the year should form with Mr. Pyncheon a court of justice at Springfield.⁴ Two years later (in October, 1647) he was authorized by the General Court to make freemen in the town of Springfield "of those that are in covenant and live according to their profession."⁵ Up to this time the inhabitants had possessed no electoral or political power, since they had broken off their connection with Connecticut; and it was not till May, 1649, that the first deputy from Springfield appeared to take his seat in the General Court. Until 1647 it was never included in any official list of Massachusetts towns.⁶

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS made the communication which follows.

¹ Colonial Records of Connecticut, ix. 431.

² Johnston, History of Connecticut, p. 209.

³ Hazard, Historical Collections, ii. 142.

⁴ Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 109.

⁵ Winthrop's Journal, ii. 457.

⁶ Green, Springfield, 1636-1886, p. 63.

While in Philadelphia recently I found, in a collection of broadsides and other documents at the Ridgway branch of the Library Company of Philadelphia, a small document of four pages containing satirical epitaphs on Wedderburn and Hutchinson. These showed that those two objects of our forefathers' execration were burned in effigy in Philadelphia on May 3, 1774. The epitaphs follow. That of Wedderburn fills pages 1 and 2, that of Hutchinson pages 3 and 4.

EPITAPH, &c.

TO THE MEMORY OF
ALEX. WEDDERBURNE, ESQ.

He was born in the City of Edinburgh,
in North-Britain.

In Order fully to gratify his L U S T for
Wealth; Power, and Popularity,
he pushed his Fortune in the
M E T R O P O L I S of the British Empire.
His Abilities and Eloquence soon procured him
a Seat in the HOUSE OF COMMONS,
where he embraced the Principles,
and followed the Practices of a Company
of STATE PROSTITUTES.

Finding the Pleasures and Emoluments
of this House, unequal to the
Sacrifice he had made of his Virtue,
He renounced their Society, and
(how condescending is R E A L Goodness!)
He was received into the Society of
the Friends of Liberty and his Country.
But alas! the Acclamations of Millions,
proclaiming his Reformation,
and the Pleasures of accepted Contrition,
were not able to protect him from a
SECOND SEDUCTION.

He was led on from one Degree of Venality to another;
 untill he was at last prevailed upon
 to commit M U R D E R upon the Character
 of an illustrious AMERICAN PATRIOT & PHILOSOPHER,
 and HIGH TREASON against
 BRITAIN and HER COLONIES.

Traveller;
 While you tread heavily upon his Dust,
 Remember, that the Pangs of a
 FIRST Fall from Virtue,
 are not to be compared with the Anguish
 of a Heart, awakened to the Guilt of a
 SECOND Defection.

Also; that great Abilities and Eloquence, are
 not the Marks of a Favourite of Heaven, or
 they would not have been conferred upon
 THIS UNHAPPY CULPRIT.

He was Executed MAY 3d, 1774,
 in the City of Philadelphia, in the Presence of
 many thousand Spectators.

He had no Friends to lament his Fate,
 for "Treachery would not trust him:" —
 He had no Enemies to forgive - - -
 for he was below Contempt.
 Even the Eye of Pity (which sometimes
 drops at the Expiation of Murder,)
 refused him this
 Tribute of Humanity.

[A skull and bones.]

EPITAPH, &c.

To the Memory of
THOMAS HUTCHINSON, ESQ.
Governor of the Province of MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

He was descended from an ancient Race
of AMERICAN Worthies,
And was educated in the Principles of
Virtue and Religion.
But alas! what availed the Renown of
his Ancestors,
And the holy Precepts of his Parents!
He remembered no more of the former,
And practised no more of the latter,
Than were sufficient to raise him to
The first Offices, and the Honours of the
Government.

He was an Enemy to
Virtue, Liberty and his Country.
Let Antiquity be dumb, nor
Reproach with Obloquy, her
CATALINES, CALIGULAS, and NEROS,
Since Mankind are here furnished
With an Instance of Depravity which
Includes with their Guilt, the
Basest Hipocrisy.

AMERICAN Traveller,
Forbear to open his Sepulchre, and to avenge
Upon his Ashes, the INJURIES he did
Thy COUNTRY.

His private Virtues did not atone for
 His public Vices.
 He was detected in an Attempt
 To "abridge the English Liberties"
 And to destroy the Charter of his
 Native Province.

Let Posterity remember with Gratitude
 The illustrious
 Dr. F R A N K L I N (not
 Less successful in disarming political
 Than natural Clouds of their Mischief)
 For this Discovery.

Although this treacherous Governor
 Was defended by one of the most artful
 British Counsellors, yet he was
 Condemned by a Jury of all the
 FREEMEN in Britain and America,
 To be hanged, and burned

MAY 3d 1774, in the City of Philadelphia in the
 Presence of many thousand Spectators,
 Who while they exulted in his
 Punishment,
 Lamented that he could suffer but
 Once
 To expiate the high Treason he
 had committed against
 his

C O U N T R Y.

[A coffin.]

The following account is taken from the Pennsylvania Gazette of
 May 4, 1774 (p. 3/1):

Yesterday, about Four o'Clock in the Afternoon, the Effigies of A L E X -
 A N D E R W E D D E R B U R N E, Esq; convicted of traducing the Ameri-
 can Colonies, and insulting their Agent before his Majesty's Privy Council
 for doing his Duty; and of T H O M A S H U T C H I N S O N, Esq; Gover-
 nor of Massachusetts-Bay, convicted of an Attempt to incense Great
 Britain against her Colonies, were put into a Cart, and conducted through
 the Streets of this City. On the Breast of Wedderburne the following
 Label was fixed,

THE INFAMOUS
WEDDERBURN E,

"A pert prime Prater, of a scabby Race,
"Guilt in his Heart, and Famine in his Face.

CHURCHILL altered.

Similis Proteo mutet, et fallacior Catalina
Hunc vos Britanni cavete!

"He availed himself of the Licence of the Bar to insult the venerable Dr. FRANKLIN, whose Knowledge in Philosophy, universal Benevolence, just Sentiments of Liberty, and indefatigable Labours to promote Harmony between Britain and her Colonies, entitle him to the Esteem of the Learned of every Nation, the love of all good Men, and the sincere Affection of every honest Briton and American.

"But the base born SOLLICITOR, who attempted to turn his Learning, Benevolence and Patriotism into Ridicule, is (like Hutchinson) a Paricide of the first Rank, who would sacrifice his Country, his Liberty and his God, and delight in the Carnage of the most faithful British Subjects in America, to gain Promotion at Court. - - - Such horrid Monsters are a Disgrace to human Nature, and justly merit our utmost Detestation and the GALLOWS, to which they are assigned, and then burnt by ELECTRIC FIRE."

With several others, and the following Lines from Hudibras:

*"So a wild Tartar, when he spies
"A Man that's handsome, valiant, wise,
"If he can kill him, thinks t' inherit
"His Wit, his Beauty, and his Spirit:
"As if just so much he enjoy'd,
"As in another is destroy'd."*

On Governor Hutchinson's Breast was fixed the following Label,

"GOVERNOR HUTCHINSON,

whom we now consign to the Gallows and Flames, as the only proper Reward for
DOUBLE-DEALING and TREACHERY to his native Country."

After being exposed for several Hours, they were hung, and burnt, in the Evening, amidst a vast Concource of People, who testified their Resentment against the Originals with the loudest Acclamations.

The account of the affair which appeared in the Pennsylvania Journal of May 4, 1774 (pp. 2, 3), differed slightly from the above. In the former it is stated that it took place "about 3 in the afternoon;" that Hutchinson "was represented with a double face;" and that "after being exposed for several hours, they were hung on a Gallows erected near the Coffee-House, set in flames by electric fire, & consumed to ashes, about 6 o'clock."

Mr. HENRY H. EDES exhibited an original letter dated at Paris, 12 March, 1793, written by Gouverneur Morris to Robert Morris.¹

On behalf of Mr. WORTHINGTON C. FORD, a Corresponding Member, Mr. EDES made the following communication :

In my edition of the Writings of George Washington (I. 231-234) I gave an extract from the Ledger of income and expenditure kept by Washington from an early period. That extract, covering his expenses in a visit to Boston, was inserted for a special purpose. In the following pages I give a transcript of the early leaves of the same Ledger, beginning with the first general entry and continuing to his Boston journey. After the fashion of good accountants, Washington also kept entries of his accounts with individuals, some of which are of earlier date than the first of these general expenses, but they were also continued in some cases to the opening of the Revolution. It appeared more logical to confine this extract to the general items, leaving to a future time the individual accounts.

Washington was at this time in the Colonial service, and later accompanied Braddock as a volunteer aid on his unfortunate adventure. The entries are of value as showing the tastes and amusements of the young Virginian, proving that he played cards and billiards, even when on the serious mission of seeking recognition of the House of Burgesses. He was buying slaves and horses, and some furnishings for his house. The details do not throw much light upon his actions, but they serve to supplement what is already known.

WASHINGTON'S LEDGER, 1754-1756.

		£	s	d
1754 Oct ^r 15	By Capt ⁿ Merrie charges on my watch .	1	1	6
	By Ditto for a chance to Raffle for a watch		5	
	By Chair leathers		3	3

¹ This letter, dated 15 March, 1793, is printed in Anne Cary Morris's *Diary and Letters of Gouverneur Morris* (1888), ii. 38. The opening words—"I have receiv'd yours of the third of February and reply shortly that I may reply immediately. My Reason for which is that"—are omitted in the *Diary and Letters*, as are also the words printed in italics in the following sentence: "*In the first Place* I must have leave to resign from the President *but further you will consider that the very Circumstance,*" etc.

		£	s	d
1754 Oct ^r 16	By Buckles for Ditto		4	3
	By Capt ⁿ Newton for Frank Self	4	6	10½
18	By Servants 5/ Expences at Taylors Ord ^r 3/9		8	9
19	By Expences at Todds Ord ^r		1	10½
	By Ditto at King William C ^t House . . .		5	7½
20	By Ditto at Claybourns 4/10½ Ditto at Chiz ^l Ord ^r 6/7½		11	6
	By 2 Almanacks 2/6 By my Serv ^t Jn ^o Alton 6/		8	6
23	By Dinner and Club at Finnies		5	3
	By Barber &c ^a 3/9 By Jn ^o Alton 1/3 . .		5	
24	By Club 7/6 Mending y ^e Axle tree of my Chair 5/		12	6
	By Shoes and Gloves 20/ 25 th By Jn ^o Alton 5/	1	5	
25	By Silver lace for a Hatt	1	8	5
	By Shoe Blacking		2	
	By one pair Buckskin Gloves		7	6
	By a Horse whip		15	6
	By a Shot Pouch		6	
	By 3 pair Stockings	1	16	
	By Shoe Blacking & Brushes old acc ^t .		3	8
31	By M ^r Collin Campbell my deputy Adju- tant his Salary for the last half year .	25		
	By a Saddle Cloth		6	3
	By a Circingle		3	6
	By Shoeing my Horse		1	
	By a Negro Fellow bought at Publick Sale of John Wake as p ^r rec ^t	40	5	
	By Cash lost or stl e	1	6	
	By 12½ Yards Cotton Velvet	9	7	6
	By the Barber		10	
	By M ^r Finnies Ordinary Acc ^t	5	9	6
	By Board at M ^{rs} Coulthards	1	7	6
Nov ^r 2	To Expences at Armisteads Ordinary . .		7	6
3	To Ditto at King William Court House .		3	7½
	To a pair of Gloves		3	
	To Servants		3	
11	To Doctor Halkerston		5	
	To a Servant		1	3

		£	s	d
1754 Nov ^r 11	To Shott &c ^a		3	9
12	To M ^r Antho: Strother on acc ^t of Jacob Vanbra ^m	16	2	6
14	To Servants		2	7½
19	To Club at Chews Ordinary		1	
20	To John Roberts Taylor his Acc ^t	2	3	
	To washing while Quartered in Alexandria	1	13	3
	To gave Joseph Powell		6	3
	To Wilson a smith his acc ^t in full	1	1	6
21	To Expen ^a at Sam ^l Jenkins's 3/1 Ditto at G: Creek 5/3		8	4
23	To Ditto at Thompsons 7/. Ditto to y ^e Ferry ⁿ at Shan ⁿ 1/3		8	3
25	To M ^r Stephenson's son Richard		1	3
D ^o	To Simeon Rice for Carriage of 10 Hhds. Tob ^o and back Loads to this date	13		
26	To a joiner for his advice upon Sawing		2	6
28	To Cash to Ch ^r Hardwick to make Sundry Paym ^{ts}	1	11	3
29	To M ^r Stephensons Children & Servants		8	9
	To my Broth ^r John		3	2
	To gave away at Edward Thompson's		3	9
31	To Powder		1	3
Dec ^r 1	To Expences at Samuel Jenkins's		1	3
	To a Quarter of Vennison of Ditto		2	6
2	To D ^d Green for Corn, and pasturage of my Horses while I was quartered in Alex ^a in full	2	3	7½
	To a Tenant of mine to pay his Levy		5	9
	To John Alton		2	6
	To Capt ⁿ Mercer's acc ^t in full	4	11	11
	To Ditto lost at Cards		4	4½
	By Servants		1	
	By Jn ^o Alton's Expences to Marlborough		2	
	By Lawyer Johnston's opinion on Col ^o Lee's claim	1	1	6
	By Cards		3	6
1755 Jan ^r 1.	By the following Servants at Col ^o Fairfax's Myrtilla £.5.9			
	The Cook 2.6			
	House Maid 2.6			

			£	s	d
1755 Jan ^r 1.	Laundry Wench	2.6			
	Hostler	1.3			
	Pompey)	1.3			
	Will } House Serv ^{ts}	1.3			
	Jack }	1.			18
	By the Ferryman at Occoquan		1		
3	By 300 bundles of Fodder		9		
5	By Billiards		4		
6	By one quire of best Paper		2		
	By Jervis Heyden for Corn &c ^a		13	9	
	By Pevey for Sundries done to my Chair		8		
	By Doct ^r Lynn for Col ^o George Fairfax		8		
8	By Expences at Caroline Court House		5	3	
9	By Ditto at Ditto		5		
	By a Servant at Col ^o Baylors		1		
	By my Servant & Horses Exp ^d at Todds		6	8	
	By a Negro fellow namd Jack bo ^t at Buck- ners Sale	52	5		
	By a Negro Woman called Clio, bo ^t at Ditto	50			
	By a Servant at Col ^o Spotswoods			7½	
11	By M ^r Mercer for his opinion of the devise of my Brothers Negroes	1	1	6	
	By Ditto on his Opinion on the devise of Mount Vernon Tract to me	1	1	6	
12	By the farrier for visiting a sick Horse		2	6	
13	By Cards	1	6		
17	By gave Jn ^o Alton		1	3	
21	By Ditto to a Sailor		2	7½	
22	By Col ^o Stephen for a broken sett of Smiths Tools	10	15		
	By Ditto for 6 leather bottomd Chairs	3	15		
25	By Cards		2	7½	
	By Col ^o Fairfaxs Ned		3	9	
	By M ^r Mercer for drawing a Release & for Advice	1	1	6	
	By his Gardner		2	6	
Feb ^r 1	By two Salts 1/3 By 1 Mustard Pot 8½ ^d		1	11½	
	By a Beer Glass and Pepper Box		1	3	
	By Capt ^a Burden for 2 Gross Bottles	2	3		
2	By knitting a pair of yarn Gloves		1	6	
5	By Club in arrack at M ^{rs} Gordons		2	6	

			£	s	d
1755	Feb ^y 5	By Cash lent M ^r James Hunter		5	9
		By Andrew Sheppard for a pair of Gloves		3	6
		By Cash lent my Brother John	1	1	6
		By my Broth ^r Charles for a p ^r of Black Gloves		1	3
		By Ditto for Ethiops Mineral got of D ^r Lymefool: Jr.		7	6
	7	By Margaret Fitzjoe for marking		3	9½
		By a Young Mare of Patrick Kendrick	6		
		By two wounded Soldiers of the Virginia Regiment		5	
	12	By Dinner & Club at Caroline C ^t House		2	6
	13	By Ditto at Ditto		3	1½
		By Col ^o Spotswoods Coachman		2	6
	14	By a Carpenter named Kitt, bo ^t at Buck- ner's Sale	39	5	
	15	By a bed of Old Heyden	1	5	
		By 500 bundles of Fodder of Jacobs		15	
	16	By y ^o Ferryman			7½
	18	By Robin Loyd		1	3
	21	By Billiards			3½
		By a great Coat for John Alton		5	9
	23	By Ordinary Expences at Moxley's		12	2
Mar.	3	By Cards		11	4½
		By Charles Griffith for a Bed &ca.	3	4	6
	6	By Cash gave Myrtilla.		5	
		By Billiards lost		3	
	10	By Cash gave away		2	6
		By Ditto		3	
		By Ditto		2	
		By Ditto to the Sailors that bro ^t my Goods from Rap ^k		3	9
	18	By Eggs		2	6
		By Cards		1	3
	20	By Col ^o Fairfaxs Gardener		2	6
	24	By Sam ^l Johnston for Wheat &ca.		17	9
	25	By Oysters		2	6
		By Eggs		3	
		By Jn ^o Bishop		2	6
Ap ^l	3	By Jn ^o Gunston for build ^g a Chimney in my Smiths Sh ^p	1	1	6

			£	s	d
1755	Ap ^l 3	By a Servant given		1	5½
	10	By John Ballendine in part for Iron . . .	11		
		By M ^r Hart for a Field Bedstead & Cur-			
		tains	4	16	3
	15	By Cash for Fowls		3	1½
		By Cash given Sergeant Hamilton . . .		5	9
		By Washing		5	9
		By Servants		2	1
	19	By Eggs		1	7
		By two Horse Collars		4	
	20	By Eggs		2	
	23	By Cash gave to M		11	6
	24	By Ditto to John Alton		5	9
	25	By Expences		4	4
		By Ditto at Minors		9	
	28	By gave Hardins Son		1	6
		By Col ^o Chambers for a Canoe	1	5	
		By Hardin, for Ditto		15	
		By Ditto for Plank in part		3	8
	30	By Expences at Swearingen's		3	9
		By Richard Stephenson's Children . . .		11	6
		By a Servant Maid of His		1	3
May 1		By my Servant Jn ^o Alton, lent		5	9
	2	By Expences at Frederick Town, Mary-			
		land		4	9
		By Capt ⁿ Ormes Servant		1	3
		By a Knife		1	3
	6	By a Servant Maid at Cocks's		5	9
		By the Saddler		2	6
		By a Smith		4	6
		By		2	
	15	By the Generals Coachman		1	10½
		By Washing		5	9
	20	By Capt ⁿ Dalton to pay M ^r Langfear . .	4	6	8
	23	By two tooth Brushes		1	3
		By a Sword Belt		8	
		By two Combs and an Ink holder		1	10½
		By two pair of Gloves		4	
		By wounded Soldiers		2	6
		By a Fan and pair of Gloves		10	
		By John Alton		3	9

		£	s	d
1755 May 23	By the Watchmaker cleaning M ^r Gists Watch		5	
25	By M ^r Bowee for a Negro boy named Harry	45		
	By two Padlocks		1	6
	By a Circingle		3	
28	By four pair thread Stockings @ 7/6 . .	1	10	
	By 1 p ^r Shares and 2 Pencils		2	9
	By 3 Yards narrow Ribbon		2	6
	By 1 Quire Paper		1	6
	By Cash to my Bro: John supposed to be as they were 5 dubloons	21	13	4
	By a large Bay Horse of Sam ^l M ^c Roberts .	10		6
29	By Bhurras for a Bell		5	9
	By Ditto gave		11	6
	By Ropes &ca		5	
June 1	By altering my Valise		1	3
2	By Captain Ormes Servant		1	3
3	By Cresaps acc ^t	2	16	10
7	By M ^r Shirley's Servant		1	3
8	By John Alton		10	
	By making a black Stock		4	
	By Cash gave to —		5	
13	By Washing		10	3
	By Tho ^s Bhurras		2	10½
17	By Col ^o Burtch's Servant		2	10½
27	By cleaning my Pistols		3	1½
July 2	By 8 days attendance of a Nurse in my Sickness		8	
4	By Milk		5	9
	By 3 pair Hopples		9	
21	By M ^r Hawthorn for a Mattrass	1	2	6½
22	By Washing		5	9
	By Thomas Bhurras for a Horse	2	1	6
	By Joseph Bunnian, Batman		5	9
	By Smith for Shoeing my Horse		1	3
23	By Expences at M ^c Crackens		5	9
24	By Jos: Oliver		5	9
	By Expences at Winchester		2	6
	By Ditto at Edward Thompson's		5	9
27	By Water Mellons		1	3

		£	s	d
1755 July 31	By 40 Bushels of Oats	2		
Aug ^t 1	By M ^r Posey	4	6	8
	By my Brothers Serv ^t 1/3 By Presley in p ^d for D ^s 6/3		7	6
	By M ^r Dalton for Paying Bell & Meads acc ^{ts}	4	6	8
24	By Cash p ^d for Sundries at M ^o Graths Ord ^r		4	
	By Ditto to the		1	6
27	By Ditto to John Alton		7	6
	By two Cockades		2	6
	By M ^r Blairs Coachman		1	3
	By Fiddlers		1	3
	By the French Barber in W ^m burg		2	6
	By Billiards		1	10
Sept ^r 2	By John Alton		5	
	By Shoes		15	
	By Gloves		12	
3	By one Silver Shoe Buckle & p ^r of knee Ditto		15	
	By the Saddler for making a sett of Furni- ture	1	10	
	By the Printers Acc ^t	2	5	
	By M ^r Mitchelson's Acc ^t	2	15	
	By Expences at Doncastles	4	1	1
	By the Governors Clerk for my Commis- sion	2	12	9
	By Ordinary Expences at Capt ⁿ Danzies .		6	10
4	By Ditto at Tods		3	1½
6	By John Alton		3	9
8	By Ditto gave to my Broth ^r John	5		
	By repairs done my Mill by Masterson . .	3	15	
9	By William Pool 5/. Punch and Cards 3/. By Cash gave the Widow Langdon . . .	1	12	4½
13	By Ordinary Expences at Colemans . . .		3	1
15	By Expences at Lewis's 5/. Ditto at Cox's 2/6		7	6
	By John Alton 2/6 By a guide from Pat- tersons 2/6		5	
	By a Guide from F ^t Cumb ^d to F ^t Din- widdie	2	16	3

		£	s	d
1755 Sept ^r 22	By a black Horse bought of	11	5	9
	By a Grey Ditto Ditto	11	5	9
	By a Sold ^r 1/3. By Expences at Earlys 3/1½		4	4½
26	By Exp ^a at Augusta C ^t House 1/3. A Negro boy 1/3		2	6
	By a Cane 6/. Exp ^a at Morgans 1/3 . . .		7	3
	By Jn ^o Alton's Exp ^a 3/9. Col ^o Fox's Ned 1/3		5	
29	By Billiards		3	
30	By M ^{rs} Spearing, for Bedsteads &ca. . .	11	6	
Oct ^r 2	By Tavern Expences at Moxley's	1	14	8
7	By Ditto at Todds Ord ^r		3	6
10	By Capt ^t John Hardin	1	1	6
16	By a Penknife 1/3. By Cards 14/9 . . .		16	
25	By Cash for the Milk of sundry Cows . .	1		
28	By Cards 4/4 By Washing 8/.		12	4
	By Evans's Map and the Gazettes in part .		16	6
30	By Expen ^a at Jo: Neavils 6/7½. Ditto George's 13/.		19	7½
	By Ditto at Colston's	2	14	6
Nov ^r 1	By Jervis Heyden for Corn		11	3
2	By John Alton 10/. Exp ^a at M ^o Graths 3/1½		13	1½
7	By Expences at York 5/7½. Shoes at Ditto 10/6		16	1½
8	By Coach hire at sundry times		5	6
	By repairs to my watch 6/3. Coach hire 5/		11	3
11	By Fidlers 5/. By coach hire 1/3.		6	3
	By M ^r Palmer 20/. Sundrie Tickets for y ^o Ball 60/.	4		
	By Servants		2	6
12	By M ^r Prentis's Acc ^t in full	21	14	7
17	By M ^r Ja ^s Hunter for his own Lydes & M ^r W ^m Hunter's Acc ^{ts} in full	5	18	7
	By Billiards		5	7½
	By M ^r Field ^s Lewis	55		
18	By 5 p ^t Stockings of M ^r Dick	2	10	
	By Corn and Fodder	1	10	
	By M ^r M ^o Williams's Acc ^t	6	14	
	By M ^r Yates Ditto	34	17	3½

		£	s	d
1755 Nov ^r 18	By a p ^r of bl ^k leath ^r Breeches & buckskin Gloves	1	15	
	By the Smith 1/3. By R. Lewis Saddler in full £5	5	1	3
19	By M ^r M ^c Creas Acc ^t in full	34	13	3
Oct ^r 29	By Enoch Pearson's Acc ^t neglected to be chargd	15	16	9½
Nov ^r 25	By Cash p ^d the Ball ^o of Maj ^r Carlyle's Acc ^t	101	18	7
	By Billiards and Cards	1	10	
26	By Charles Mason Taylors Acc ^t	4	16	6
	By William Baker Hatters Acc ^t	1	18	6
	By M ^r Adam Merch ^t Acc ^t	14	9	
	By Dan ^l Lawrence Sadlers Acc ^t	3		
	By William Sewell Barbers Acc ^t	17	6	
	By Joseph Chew Ordinary Acc ^t	3	16	6
	By Alex ^r Bell Smiths Acc ^t	3		
	By Tho ^s Bishop	1	10	
	By Sundry payments made in Williamsburg by my Serv ^t Bishop			
	To Charles Jones, Tay- lor	2	9	0
	To Alex ^r Craik Sadler	3	10	
	To W ^m Flatters Shoemaker	13		
	To Sarah Cummins for Wash- ing	13	4½	
	To the Black Smith	2	6	
	To the Barber	1	5	
	To Corn at the Brick House	1	3	
	To Bishops Drink	6	6	9
				7½
26	By 1 Pistole gave	1	1	6
Dec ^r 8	By my Quitrents to the Date	15	4	
11	By Cards 1/3. By Billiards 2/6 gave away 2/6	6	3	
12	By Doct ^r Ross for 6 p ^r Negro Shoes	1	15	
16	By Mes ^{rs} Carlyle & Dalton to purchase a Bill of Excha.	45		
	By a pair of Leather Breeches	1	6	
25	By Cards 5/6. By Jn ^o Alton 10/. Cut- ting Wood 5/.	1		6
31	By Cocks's House Maid	5		

			£	s	d
1756 Jan ^y	10	By John Alton 10/. Jn ^o Leyden's Wife 5/ By Thomas Bishop part Wages	1	15	
	16	By Col ^o Fairfax's Pompey		1	3
	22	By Oats £5. By Billiards 20/. Jos. Chew for Wine 15/.	6	15	
	31	By Valentine Crawford 10/. Col ^o Fairfax's Serv ^{ts} 2/		12	
			937	7	3

CASH.

1754 Oct ^r	15	To Cash in hand	145		
	25	To Ditto of M ^r Prentis, my Salary as Adjutant.	50		
	30	To Ditto of Maj ^r Carlyle in Williamsburg	8	14	2
Nov ^r		To Ditto in Alexandria	21	12	1
	20	To Cash won at Cards		3	9
	25	To Ditto for Corn	1	3	
Dec ^r	2	To Ditto in an Exchange of my Char. Horses	4	6	
		To Ditto won at Cards		8	
	25	To Cash at Cards.		8	
	26	To Ditto at Ditto		3	9
		To Ditto of Major Carlyle	60		
	27	To Ditto at Cards		2	6
		To Ditto of Major Carlyle			
1755 Jan ^y	6	To Ditto of M ^r Woodward at Cards . .		2	6
		To M ^r Mercer at Ditto		4	4½
	13	To M ^r Lewis at Billiards		2	6
	15	To M ^r Strother at Cards		5	9
		To Ditto at Ditto		2	
		To Patrick Kendrick	23	13	1
Feb ^y	5	To M ^{rs} Thornton for my Lotts in Fred- ricks ^s	50		
	10	To Patrick Kendrick	12	7	9
	21	To M ^r Spearing at Billiards		8	9
	26	To M ^{rs} Spearing at Cards		4	6
Mar.	11	To Ditto at Ditto		3	9
		To Ditto at Ditto		1	6
		To Cards at Sundry Times	1	10	9
Ap ^l	7	To Cash of Maj ^r Carlyle	6	13	2
		To Ditto of Ditto	5		

			£	s	d
1755	May 6	To Cash of the Right Hon ^{ble} the Lord Fairfax	40		
		To Ditto my Pay &ca. of the Country	61		
		To Smiths acc ^t of the Country		6	
		To Cash	25		
		To Cash rec ^d as a present from the Assembly	300		
	Sept ^r 29	To Billiards		10	
	Nov ^r 12	To my Salary as Adjutant	25		
		To my Expences in going to Fort Dinwiddie refunded	3	1	3
	Dec ^r 1	To my Pay to this	136	10	
	16	To Cash of the Publick	60		
1756	Jan ^r 10	To Ditto at Cards		10	
		To Ditto of the Publick	16		
	16	To Ditto of Ditto	15		
	Feb ^r 2	To Ditto of Ditto	96		
	3	To Ditto of Ditto	43	10	
	4	To Ditto of Ditto lodgd with Capt ⁿ Mercer	117		
		To Ditto of Ditto for Ditto	20	15	
		To Ditto borrowd of Col ^o Carlyle	5	7	6
		To Ditto of the Publick for Capt ⁿ Mercer	4	6	8
		To Ditto of Ditto for Ditto	8		
			1370	18	$\frac{1}{2}$

MARCH MEETING, 1908

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 26 March, 1908, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY *pro tempore* reported that a letter had been received from the Rev. CHARLES EDWARDS PARK accepting Resident Membership.

The Hon. FRANK WARREN HACKETT of New Castle, New Hampshire, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Mr. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE offered, as a note on Mr. Edes's discussion before this Society in March, 1899, of the Places of Worship of the Sandemanians in Boston,¹ the following entry under date of 15 August, 1773, from the unprinted Journal of John Boyle, the Boston bookseller and printer:²

Aug. 15 The Sandemanians met in their New Meeting-House in Middle Street for the first Time.

Mr. Kittredge added that Boyle's Journal, which runs from 1759 to 1778, was well worth printing.

¹ Publications of this Society, vi. 109-130.

² For Boyle, see *ibid.* vi. 321 note 4, ix. index.

Mr. HORACE E. WARE made the following communication:

AN INCIDENT IN
WINTHROP'S VOYAGE TO NEW ENGLAND.

It will be recalled that four ships of the Massachusetts Bay Company's great expedition to these shores in 1630 left Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, April 8, 1630, Governor Winthrop being on board the *Arbella*. It had been arranged a few days before the departure that of these vessels the *Arbella* should be admiral; the *Talbot*, vice-admiral; the *Ambrose*, rear-admiral; and the *Jewel*, captain. The masters of the vessels were, — of the *Arbella*, Captain Peter Milborne; of the *Talbot*, Mr. Thomas Beecher; of the *Ambrose*, Captain John Lowe; of the *Jewel*, Mr. Nicholas Hurlston. Seven other vessels left Southampton for the Massachusetts Bay a few weeks later.¹

Before proceeding with the main narrative, it may be well to consider certain conditions then existing which are of historical importance in connection therewith.

Charles the First, ever in need of money, had lately entered upon his eleven years' experiment of trying to govern without a Parliament. The nation had been at war with Spain for something over five years, but without important consequences to either party; and it may be stated, by way of anticipation, that this war was to be terminated by the Treaty of Madrid, November 5, 1630.² Louis XIII was King of France, but its government was being directed by the masterful Richelieu. Certain of the relations between that country and England were in what might be called a state of unstable equilibrium, for while the Treaty of Susa, April 24, 1629, had ostensibly put an end to the war begun in the early part of 1627,³ at least two matters remained unsettled at the time of Winthrop's departure. One of these arose previous to the Treaty, the other for the most part, at least, from proceedings subsequent thereto. Both of them will be referred to later, but I will here state their nature in brief.

Upon the marriage of Charles I with Henrietta Maria, the sister

¹ Palfrey, *History of New England*, i. 313.

² *Cambridge Modern History*, iv. 275.

³ *Ibid.* iv. 266-275.

of Louis XIII, the latter had promised to pay as his sister's dowry the sum of eight hundred thousand crowns. Only about one half of this amount had been paid, leaving four hundred thousand crowns or thereabouts still payable.

At the time of Winthrop's departure the English were in possession of Quebec and certain important places in Acadia. Quebec had been taken in July, 1629, subsequent to the peace established by the Treaty of the previous April, by David Kirke, commander of an expedition sent out by a company formed by Sir William Alexander, Gervase Kirke,¹ and other Englishmen, who had a commission and letters of marque from King Charles, issued before the Treaty. A return of all these places had been demanded by the King of France. In this expedition, David Kirke was captain of the largest ship, one of about 300 tons, and his brothers Lewis and Thomas were the respective captains of two of the other vessels.²

It will be remembered that Winthrop's History of New England is in the form of a journal in which the events are narrated more or less contemporaneously with the dates under which they are entered. I take from that History under their respective dates the following entries bearing upon the subject:

1630, April 25. We stood W. and by S. and saw two ships ahead of us as far as we could descry.

In the afternoon the wind came W. and by S. but calm still. About five of the clock, the rear-admiral and the Jewel had fetched up the two ships, and by their saluting each other we perceived they were friends, . . . About nine of the clock, they both fell back towards us again, and we steered N. N. W. . . .

April 26. The wind still W. and by S. close weather, and scarce any wind.

The two ships, which we saw yesterday, were bound for Canada.

¹ In the Massachusetts Colony Records (i. 36), under date of March 17, 1628-29, is the following entry:

A warrant was made ffor payment of 120^l to M^r Nathaniell Wright, for so much pd by him to M^r Jarvis Kerke, M^r W^m Barkley, & M^r Rob^t Charlton, ffor the shippe.

The Jarvis Kerke here referred to is the Gervase Kirke named in the text, both forms of the name being found in the Calendars of State Papers. This entry was made a few days after the date of the Charter, March 4-14, 1628-29, but before organization thereunder.

² Henry Kirke, *First English Conquest of Canada* (1871), p. 69.

Capt. Kirk was aboard the admiral. They bare up with us, and falling close under our lee, we saluted each other, and conferred together so long till his vice-admiral was becalmed by our sails, and we were foul one of another; but there being little wind and the sea calm, we kept them asunder with oars, etc., till they heaved out their boat, and so towed their ship away.

They told us for certain, that the King of France had set out six of his own ships to recover the fort from them.

About one of the clock Capt. Lowe sent his skiff aboard us, (with a friendly token of his love to the governour,) to desire our captain to come aboard his ship, which he did, and there met the masters of the other ships and Capt. Kirk, and before night they all returned to their ships again, Capt. Lowe bestowing some shot upon them for their welcome.¹

The record here states that there were gales and high winds April 27, 28, and 29.

April 29th. We had been now three weeks at sea, and were not come above three hundred leagues, being about one third part of our way, viz., about forty-six north latitude, and near the meridian of the Terceras.²

This night Capt. Kirk carried the light as one of our consorts. . . .

May 2d. The Ambrose and Jewel were separated far from us the first night, but this day we saw them again, but Capt. Kirk's ships we saw not since. . . .

May 18th. Towards night (our rear-admiral being near two leagues to leeward of us) we bare up, and drawing near her, we descried, some two leagues more to leeward, two ships, which we conceived were those two of Capt. Kirk's, which parted from us in the storm, May 2.³

Under May 19, the author states that they were 44° 12' North, and by their account in the midway between the false bank and the main bank. The Arbella and the Jewel reached Salem June 12 and June 13, respectively; the Ambrose arrived at Salem June 18; and on July 2 the Talbot arrived at Charlestown.

By recalling in a summary way what has been told by Parkman and

¹ History of New England (1853), i. 15, 16.

² Ibid. i. 17. Terceira is one of the large islands of the central group of the Azores. It is in slightly above 27° west longitude. Under date of May 9, Winthrop says that the fleet was a little west of Corvos. Corvo and Flores are the two islands comprising the northwestern group of the Azores and are in slightly above 31° west longitude. Upon the two estimates the fleet made about four degrees of longitude in ten days. ³ History of New England, i. 17, 18, 21.

other writers about the Kirkes and their undertakings, this accidental meeting of the two expeditions on the broad Atlantic will become of greater interest.

David, Lewis, and Thomas Kirke, whom I have named, were the sons of Gervase Kirke, an Englishman, their mother being a Frenchwoman of Dieppe. There were also two other sons, John and James, and two daughters. The enterprise of Gervase Kirke and others under which the three brothers sailed was private, but the King had furnished them with a commission and letters of marque. About the time this enterprise was instituted in England, there was organized in France under the auspices of Richelieu the association designated The Company of New France, sometimes, however, referred to in history as The Hundred Associates. To this Company the King of France granted a vast territory in America, including all of Canada, besides investing it with extraordinary powers. The Company of New France had in April, 1628, sent out a fleet of armed vessels and transports for the protection of Canada and the relief of Quebec, whose inhabitants were in sore straits for food and ammunition. But the English fleet under the command of David Kirke had arrived in the Canadian waters first, with the result that eighteen of the French vessels were captured, and Quebec itself was threatened during the month of July. Such ships as the English did not destroy they retained as prizes. Later in the season they returned to England.

The next summer, that of 1629, David Kirke with his fleet was again in the St. Lawrence, having left Gravesend March 25. In due course demand was made upon Champlain for the surrender of Quebec. Terms quite liberal for the French were agreed upon, and on July 20 Lewis Kirke, as representative of his brother, the Admiral, took formal possession. Leaving Lewis Kirke in command at Quebec, the Admiral sailed for England with his prisoners. On the arrival of the squadron at Plymouth, November 20, 1629, Champlain proceeded to London, where with the French Ambassador he endeavored to obtain from the King a promise that the places lately taken by the English should be restored to France pursuant to the terms of the Treaty of Susa.¹

¹ See Parkman, *Pioneers of France* (1896), p. 444; Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*, p. 136; Kirke, *First English Conquest of Canada*, pp. 69-74. In saying

Bitter indeed must have been the disappointment of David Kirke and his associates when they learned of the terms of the Treaty made at Susa the latter part of April, so soon after their departure for Canada. Here were magnificent prospects of wealth and territory shattered at one fell stroke. Upon the capture of Quebec being made known to the French, the latter proceeded to seize upon certain English ships by way of reprisal. King Charles, realizing the serious conditions existing, began work upon the vessels of his navy to have them ready for active hostilities.¹ Not only did the French demand restitution of all the places in Canada taken by the English since the Treaty, but also that the Canada adventurers should deliver up all the beaver skins in their warehouse in London which the Kirkes had seized in Canada. Process was issued requiring that these skins be delivered into the hands of the public officers. Kirke and his party and one Thomas Fitz, a merchant, and others interested offered such a high handed opposition that the latter was brought before the Star Chamber for contempt of authority. This brought an end to all resistance; the skins were restored and Fitz was released from custody. These proceedings lasted from at least early in March to as late as

that "Champlain surrendered Quebec to the English on the 9th of August, 1629," Henry Kirke is slightly inaccurate. The surrender of Quebec took place on July 20; the articles, drawn up July 19, were ratified on August 9 by David Kirke at Tadousac. See Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574-1660, pp. 98, 99. The matter is correctly stated by R. Brown in his History of the Island of Cape Breton (1869), p. 73. The articles are printed in Hazard's Historical Collections, i. 285-287.

¹ Birch's Court and Times of Charles the First contains letters bearing on the subject from the Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville dated September 26, 1629 (ii. 28), from Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering dated January 20, 1629-30 (ii. 52), from John Pory to Puckering dated January 13, 1630-31 (ii. 89, 90), from Beaulieu to Puckering dated May 25, 1631 (ii. 122), from Pory to Puckering dated June 16, 1631 (ii. 123), and from Pory to Puckering dated February 23, 1631-32 (ii. 171, 172). In his letter to Puckering of January 13, 1630-31, Pory, with pleasing naïveté, writes:

That Philip Burlamachi hath gotten a brave employment into France, to fetch home the latter half of the Queen's portion, being £120,000, and satisfaction also for three great rich English ships, treacherously taken by the French after the peace proclaimed. "Do you think that the French, being so exhausted by their wars, would part with such heaps of treasure for nothing? No: you may be sure they would not. The bait, therefore, to allure them thereunto, is the fort of Kebeck, in Canada, to get it out of Capt. Kirk's clutches; the trade of beavers and otters, which they want to enjoy by the possession whereof, having been worth unto them, *communibus annis*, £30,000 by year." That the said fort sticketh in their hearts, as Calais did in Queen Mary's.

the middle of June, 1630.¹ This period, it will be observed, includes that of Winthrop's voyage. David Kirke, therefore, during this time being in London, and Lewis Kirke, as we have seen, having been left in command at Quebec, it follows that Thomas Kirke must have been the "Capt. Kirk" in command of the two ships which were voyaging in company with Winthrop's fleet.²

Gervase Kirke died December 17, 1629, leaving a considerable property. Sometime in the year 1630 David Kirke was married to Sarah, daughter of Sir Joseph Andrews, Knight. With his wife came a substantial dowry.³

Notwithstanding the adverse terms of the Treaty, David Kirke made strenuous efforts to save Quebec. One took the shape of a petition to the King. A ground he claims for the impregnability of Quebec to capture by siege is curious and entertaining. He states it thus:

The above fort (Quebec) is so well situated that they are able to withstand 10,000 men, and will not care for them; for in winter they cannot stay in the country, soe that whosoever goes to besiege them cannot stay above three months, all in which time the musketts⁴ will soe tormente them that noe man is able to be abroad in centry or trenches daye or night without losinge their sights at least eight dayes.⁵

But the King's only object appears to have been to turn the brilliant conquest of the Kirkes to his own personal advantage. On June 12, 1631, he wrote his ambassador in Paris that when he received the balance of his Queen's dowry (hereinbefore referred to), and not before, he would make restoration of the places taken.⁶ Negotiations followed which resulted in the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye on March 29, 1632.⁷ The King gave Alexander, who had received grants

¹ Kirke, *First English Conquest of Canada*, pp. 82-86; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1574-1660, pp. 117, 118.

² In a note to Winthrop's *History of New England* (i. 15), Savage says that "Capt. Kirk" was "probably a brother of Sir David Kirk."

³ Kirke, *First English Conquest of Canada*, p. 93.

⁴ Mosquitoes.

⁵ Kirke, *First English Conquest of Canada*, p. 87.

⁶ Parkman, *Pioneers of France*, p. 444. In Rymer's *Fœdera* (xix. 303) is a promise of Charles I to return Quebec to the French King dated June 29, 1631.

⁷ Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*, p. 137. The Treaty of St. Germain has been printed several times in French, but not in English. See Rymer's *Fœdera*,

from James I and Charles I, ten thousand pounds, while he ordered Alexander's son to vacate the neighborhood of Port Royal.¹ On July 13, 1632, Quebec was restored to France, Emeric de Caen taking possession in its behalf.²

I do not find mention of the Kirkes' ships going to Quebec in the year 1630 unless it be inferred from Winsor's statement that "during the second summer, they [the English holding Quebec] had received some recruits, and there were about seventy English in the town when De Caen, on July 13, received its surrender."³ If the "second sum-

xix. 361-365; *Memoires des Commissaires* (1755), ii. 7-13; *Collection de Manuscrits relatifs a la Nouvelle-France* (1883), i. 86-97; Hazard, *Historical Collections*, i. 319, 320.

¹ See E. F. Slafter, Sir William Alexander, and American Colonization (Prince Society), pp. 62-72.

² Winsor, Cartier to Frontenac, p. 138.

³ *Ibid.* p. 138. In a letter to John Winthrop, Jr., dated London, December 26, 1631, Francis Kirby wrote:

Captain Bruton who was imployed by my cozen Moris Thomson and company for the trade of bever in the river of Canada is now arrived heer . . . he hath brought in heer about 3000^b weight of bever, and they are now hastenings to set forth a small ship only for that river hopings to be there before Captain Kerke whom (I hear) is to fetch his men from Quibeck and yield up the Castle againe to the French this next somer (3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ix. 238).

It would appear from these statements that the English were making the most of their control of the River St. Lawrence while it lasted.

As contemporary glimpses of the Kirkes are somewhat rare, it may not be without interest to bring together a few. In a relation written at Quebec August 28, 1632, Father Le Jeune said:

At length, on the 5th of July, which was Monday, — two months and 18 days since the 18th of April, when we sailed, — we reached the much desired port. We cast anchor in front of the fort which the English held; we saw at the foot of this fort the poor settlement of Kebec all in ashes. The English, who came to this country to plunder and not to build up, not only burned a greater part of the detached buildings which Father Charles Lallement had had erected, but also all of that poor settlement of which nothing now is to be seen but the ruins of its stone walls. This greatly inconveniences the French, who do not know where to lodge. The next day Captain Thomas Ker was summoned, a man of French Nationality, born at Dieppe, who had gone over to England, and who, with David and Louys Ker, his brothers, and one Jacques Michel, also born at Dieppe, all huguenots, had thrown themselves upon this poor country, where they have done great damage and have prevented the doing of much good. . . . The English Clergyman, who was not of the same Faith as his people, — for he was a Protestant or Lutheran, and the Kers are Calvinists or of some other more libertine Religion (they held this poor Minister a prisoner in their house for six months), — told me that the Montagnards wanted to negotiate a peace with the Hiroquois (*Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, v. 39, 41, 49).

Under date of July 25, 1645, Governor Winthrop wrote:

Monsieur La Tour having stayed here all winter and thus far of the summer, and

mer" was that following the capture of Quebec by the English, then the recruits just referred to were in all probability being taken to Quebec by the ships which Winthrop saw. But undoubtedly the London adventurers sent stores, etc., to Quebec every spring or summer during the occupation.

In December, 1631, the King caused to be conferred upon David Kirke and his brothers certain honorary additions to their coat of arms; and on July 16, 1633, he knighted David Kirke.¹ Subsequently, as we shall see, the King made to the latter certain grants in the Island of Newfoundland. We may assume that these favors were conferred in recognition of services and expenditures in the expeditions to Canada, but they seem very small returns considering what the Kirkes had accomplished.

The subsequent careers of Sir David, Lewis, and Thomas Kirke can be followed in Henry Kirke's *First English Conquest of Canada*, from which I have already made citations. There were two patents from the King of the Island of Newfoundland, both dated November 13, 1637. One ran to Sir David Kirke alone, vesting in him the powers of a county palatine; the other was to Sir David and certain others.² But Sir David alone came to the Island and assumed proprietorship and supreme official authority thereon. These grants included Avalon, the territory previously granted to the first Lord Baltimore, which he and his son, the second Lord Baltimore, as Sir

having petitioned the court for aid against Monsieur D'Aulnay, and finding no hope to obtain help that way, took shipping in one of our vessels which went on fishing to Newfoundland, hoping by means of Sir David Kirk, governour there, and some friends he might procure in England to obtain aid from thence, intending for that end to go from thence to England. Sir David entertained him courteously, and promised to do much for him; but no means of help appearing to answer his ends, he returned hither before winter, Sir David giving him passage in a vessel of his which came hither (*History of New England*, ii. 303).

In a letter to John Winthrop, Jr., dated New Haven, September 26, 1659, the Rev. John Davenport said:

I desire . . . to let you know that I have received a large letter fr: M^r Blinman date^d Aug. 22. whereby I understand that God hath brought him and his to Newfoundland, in safety and health, . . . After these passages and his notifying to me the Lady Kirkes respectful and loving mention of me whom she saith, she hath heard in London, he addeth to what I had heard fr: England that a fine of 5^l is put upon any that shall name the last protector (3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, x. 25, 26).

No doubt this was the widow of Sir David Kirke.

¹ W. A. Shaw, *Knights of England*, ii. 201.

² Kirke, *First English Conquest of Canada*, p. 161 and note.

David and his heirs claimed, had abandoned. To Lord Baltimore, the son, it will be remembered, the Charter of Maryland was granted in 1632, instead of to his father who had died a short time before.

Sir David was a royalist and a staunch churchman. In a letter to Archbishop Laud written in October, 1639, he says, referring to schismatics, "we have heard so many frensies from our next neighbouring plantation, the greatest His Majesty hath in America;"¹ a compliment, be it noted, to the enterprise and ability of the Massachusetts colonists, if not to their theology.

Lewis and Thomas Kirke both commanded vessels in the navy before the Civil War, and on the outbreak of that war in 1642 both joined the King's forces. Thomas was killed in one of the skirmishes between the Royalist and Parliamentary soldiers. Lewis commanded a troop of horse and was knighted by the King at Oxford on April 23, 1643.² In October, 1660, he was appointed Receiver and Paymaster of the Band of Gentlemen at Arms.³

Sir David Kirke offered the King an asylum in Newfoundland when he perceived the danger threatening him in England. After the death of the King he invited Prince Rupert to sail to Newfoundland, and there recruit his fleet; but Rupert found it impracticable to comply, or for some other reason failed to act upon the invitation.

The authorities of the Parliamentary government, being aware of Sir David Kirke's acts and attempted proceedings against it, a warrant was issued in April, 1651, to John Treworgie and another order-

¹ Kirke, *First English Conquest of Canada*, p. 167.

² Shaw, *Knights of England*, ii. 215. In his *History of Newfoundland* (pp. 155, 162, 164), Judge Prowse speaks of "Sir James Kirke." This is apparently a mistake, for in the documents from the *Calendars of State Papers* referred to by Prowse James Kirke is not spoken of as a knight, nor is his name found in Shaw's work. On the other hand, John Kirke, though his name too is not in Shaw's work, was knighted, though exactly when does not appear. On May 14, 1683, there is mention of a "Petition of Sir John Kirk, Knight, to the King" (*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1685-1689*, p. 643), and on January 26, 1684, of "Sir John Kirk" as the father-in-law of Radisson (*ibid.* p. 648). The second wife of Radisson is sometimes erroneously said (*Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, v. 277) to have been the daughter of Sir David Kirke. Radisson himself said that he was "marry'd at London unto an Hon^{ble} family," and spoke of "my father-in-Law, Sir John Kirk" (*Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson, Prince Society*, pp. 250, 254).

³ R. Brown, *History of the Island of Cape Breton*, p. 112 note; Kirke, *First English Conquest of Canada*, p. 173.

ing them to proceed to Newfoundland and to take possession of all Sir David's ordnance, ammunition, etc., and to collect the taxes paid by strangers for the right of fishing. Sir David went to England in September. The business having come before the Council, after many delays it was in the summer of 1652 decided that Kirke had no authority in Newfoundland under the late King's grant; that all forts, houses, etc., relating to the fishing trade established on the Island by Kirke and his fellow adventurers should be forfeited to the Government, but that Sir David's own private effects should be secured to him. Later, however, Sir David secured the removal of the sequestration upon his property, and, with the exception of the ordnance and forts, it was returned to him.

The closing events in the life of Sir David Kirke are obscure. He returned to London in the autumn of 1651, and died there at an unknown date, but apparently during the winter of 1653-1654.¹ After the Restoration his widow and children received severe treatment at the hands of Charles II. Cecil, Lord Baltimore, put in a claim to Avalon under the grant to his father by James I. The evi-

¹ That from the autumn of 1651 to June 11, 1652, Sir David was in London, as stated by Henry Kirke, is shown by the Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574-1660, pp. 363, 371, 372, 373, 381. Henry Kirke writes:

At the same time [i. e., June 11, 1652], permission was granted to Sir David to return to Newfoundland, on condition that he returned to England with the Commissioners, and in the meanwhile gave security that he would answer whatever was objected against him, and to pay such sums as shall appear to be due from him to the Commonwealth. Upon such hard terms as these, Sir David Kirke returned to his estates at Ferryland, in the summer of 1652. He could not have remained there long, for in the spring of 1653, we find him again in England, . . . he was allowed to return to Newfoundland, upon entering into a bond of double the value of his estate, to answer any charges that might be brought against him. With such terms, which were the best he could procure, Kirke was bound to be satisfied; so he set sail for Newfoundland and arrived there in the autumn of 1653. . . . But all hopes and expectations were blighted by his death, which took place in the winter of 1655-6, but the exact date is not known. (*First English Conquest of Canada*, pp. 177-184.)

Henry Kirke offers no proof that Sir David returned to Newfoundland in the summer of 1652 and again in the autumn of 1653, and, while the statement may be correct, there is nothing in the Calendar of State Papers to support it. As to the date of Sir David's death, Henry Kirke is clearly wrong. On June 11, 1653, a petition of Sir David was referred to the Committee of the Admiralty, and on December 1, 1653, an order of the Council of State referred the petition to the Committee for Irish and Scotch Affairs. On April 24, 1654, Sir David was spoken of as dead. (*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574-1660*, pp. 404, 412, 415.)

dence is conflicting. On the one hand it was claimed that Baltimore had abandoned Avalon, while on the other it was alleged that the grant to Kirke had been surreptitiously obtained.¹ Whatever the true facts were, the decision was in Baltimore's favor; and the prop-

¹ "In the full conviction," writes Henry Kirke, "that the Baltimores had abandoned Newfoundland, Sir David Kirke obtained a grant of that place from the King, . . . This was in 1637, and no complaint was made by Lord Baltimore till 1660" (*First English Conquest of Canada*, pp. 188, 189). As early as February, 1637, Lord Baltimore presented a memorial "touching his right to part of Newfoundland" (*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574-1660*, pp. 246, 247). On June 11, 1652, the Committee for Foreign Affairs considered "the interests of the Commonwealth in Newfoundland, and the encouragement of the fisheries there;" and "Sir David Kirke and Lord Baltimore, who pretend private interest, agree that the proceeding therein will be no inconvenience to them" (*ibid.* p. 381). The Maryland Historical Society owns several documents relating to the subject dated 1652 or 1653, among them "the Lord Baltimore's case concerning Avalon" (*Calvert Papers*, part i. p. 113). Under date of June, 1660, is a—

Petition of Cecil, Lord Baltimore to the King. Recites King James's patent of Newfoundland to his father; where he began a plantation, built a fair house in which he resided, and expended above 30,000 *l.* After his decease, the petitioner deputed Capt. William Hill, Governor. In 1638 . . . Sir David Kirke surreptitiously obtained a patent, went over the following year, and dispossessed the petitioner of all his rights there. In 1655 Kirke made over part of his patent to John Claypole (son-in-law to Cromwell), . . . and others, and Sir Lewis Kirke and others are endeavouring to get a confirmation of that patent. Prays that no grant may be passed to his prejudice, and that he may be restored to his rights according to his patent (*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574-1660*, p. 481):

It has been stated that the Kirke who in 1655 "made over part of his patent to John Claypole" was Sir David; but if the date is correct, Sir David was then dead; hence probably it was James Kirke, or else there was a mistake in the date. A little later than the above petition, we find, presumably dated in 1661, another—

Petition of Cecil Lord Baltimore to the King. Recites his former petition and the proceedings thereon . . . ; with his Majesty's order (of 20th March 1660/1) to restore petitioner to his possession and rights in Newfoundland, but that he hath yet no satisfaction for such damage done him by Sir David Kirke and others in dispossessing petitioner of his house, goods, and rights in the province of Avalon, and keeping him out of possession many years, to his prejudice of above 20,000 *l.* sterling, for which damages petitioner sued said Sir David Kirke at his first return thence into England about ten years since, and laid him in prison, where he died before making any satisfaction to petitioner. That nevertheless Sir Lewis Kirke claims satisfaction for the charges wrongfully bestowed by his brother upon said province to petitioner's prejudice (*ibid.*, *Colonial, 1661-1668*, p. 21).

Lord Baltimore appointed Captain Robert Swanley to be his lieutenant in Avalon, and on May 9, 1663, the King's officers and subjects were "required to be assisting to Capt. Swanley or his deputy in the Government of said province" (*ibid.* p. 132).

erty of the storm-worn veteran, instead of passing to his family, was bestowed upon the owner of the princely domain in the more congenial South which had been given him in substitution for Avalon.

Allow me to call attention to the following entry in Winthrop's History — that under date of May 29, 1630 — when off Sable Island:

Saturday, 29. The wind N. W. a stiff gale, and fair weather, but very cold; in the afternoon full N. and towards night N. and by E.; so we stood W.¹

Upon that same day was born in London the infant thereafter to become King Charles the Second, who was to cause to be vacated the Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, which Winthrop was then bringing with him.

While not followed by consequences of historic importance, the meeting of the ships of Winthrop with those of Kirke out upon the wide waste of waters is very impressive. We may hazard an opinion as to the matters chiefly in the thoughts of the respective parties as the result of their interview. To Kirke the future Massachusetts settlement might have suggested itself as a comparatively nearby place of refuge in case of untoward fortune. To Winthrop and his associates the danger of a renewal of the war with France, in case the latter's King should send his ships to recover Quebec, as intimated by Kirke, was undoubtedly a matter of grave concern. Ships sailing from England to the Colony would be in danger of capture; and would-be colonists might not be willing to expose themselves and their families to such additional peril. Moreover, the settlements in Massachusetts would themselves be exposed to attack.² The con-

¹ History of New England, i. 24. The following is the entry for May 30:

The wind N. by E. a handsome gale, but close, misty weather, and very cold; so our ship made good way in a smooth sea, and our three ships kept close together. By our account we were in the same meridian with Isle Sable, and forty-two and a half (ibid. i. 24).

² That the colonists felt that they were in grave danger of hostilities by the French is shown by a statement in Thomas Dudley's letter to the Countess of Lincoln, dated March 12, 1630-31, wherein Dudley, referring to the efforts of the colonists in July and August, 1630, to find a place for their sitting down, says:

And to that purpose, some were sent to the Bay, to search up the rivers for a convenient place; who, upon their return, reported to have found a good place upon Mistick; but some other of us, seconding these, to approve or dislike of their judgment, we

sideration of possibilities such as these, gives us a somewhat vivid impression of contemporary conditions.

The ships of the two expeditions parted and went their several ways. The enterprise of the Kirkes, notwithstanding the courage and ability shown by commanders and men, failed in its most important objects, and exercised no lasting effect upon subsequent history.¹ Such a result is in striking contrast with the transcendent success of the undertaking of Winthrop and his associates.

Mr. GEORGE F. TUCKER made the following remarks on the will of Governor Richard Bellingham of Massachusetts:

Richard Bellingham was born in England in 1592 and came to Boston in 1634. He was by profession a lawyer. He was elected Deputy-Governor in 1635, and in 1641 he defeated Winthrop for the governorship by only six votes. There was dissatisfaction over the result, and according to some writers there was a suggestion at least of irregularities in the election, Hubbard stating that Bellingham "carried it by six votes, if so many could regularly be made out."² He was elected again in 1654 and also in 1665, after the death of Governor Endicott, and then continued in office until his own death in 1672.

found a place (that) liked us better, three leagues up Charles river; and thereupon unshipped our goods into other vessels, and with much cost and labor brought them in July to Charlestown. But there receiving advertisements, by some of the late arrived ships from London and Amsterdam, of some French preparations against us, (many of our people brought with us being sick of fevers and the scurvy, and we thereby unable to carry up our ordnance and baggage so far,) we were forced to change counsel, and for our present shelter to plant dispersedly, some at Charlestown, which standeth on the north side of the mouth of Charles river; some on the south side thereof, which place we named Boston, (as we intended to have done the place we first resolved on;) some of us upon Mistick, which we named Medford; some of us westwards on Charles river, four miles from Charlestown, which place we named Watertown; others of us two miles from Boston, in a place we named Roxbury; others upon the river of Saugus, between Salem and Charlestown; and the western men four miles south from Boston, at a place we named Dorchester. (Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, pp. 312, 313.)

It thus appears that the danger of attacks by the French may have affected the locations of towns and town boundaries in the neighborhood of Boston.

¹ Savage, referring to the capture of Quebec by the Kirkes, says (Winthrop's *History of New England*, i. 13 note) that it was an event then and long after thought of so little consequence as not to be noticed in Hume's *History of England*.

² *History of New England*, chap. xiv.

After the death of his wife in 1641, Bellingham married Penelope Pelham of Plymouth under circumstances which subjected him to the censure of the General Court. It seems that he performed the ceremony himself and did not properly publish the banns. He was prosecuted, but escaped conviction by refusing to leave the bench, thus taking part in his own trial.

There is a story that Miss Pelham was interested in a younger gentleman; but yielded to the attractions of superior station — an incident which furnished Bynner with the subject of his charming story, *Penelope's Suitors*.

Hubbard says:

In the end of the year 1672 an end was put to the life and government of Mr. Bellingham, a very ancient gentleman, having spun a long thread of above eighty years: he was a great justiciary, a notable hater of bribes, firm and fixed in any resolution he entertained, of larger comprehension than expression, like a vessel whose vent holdeth no good proportion with its capacity to contain, a disadvantage to a public person; had he not been a little too much overpowered with the humor of melancholy in his natural constitution, (the infirmities of which tincture did now and then appear in his dispensing of justice,) he had been very well qualified for a Governor. He had been bred a lawyer, yet turned strangely, although upon very pious considerations, as some have judged, out of the ordinary road thereof, in the making of his last will and testament, which defect, if there were any, was abundantly supplied by the power of the General Court, so as that no prejudice did arise to his successors.¹

Governor Bellingham died on December 7, 1672, and on the nineteenth his will, which was executed a few days before his death, was admitted to probate. The will gave to his wife, by whom he had no issue, the rent of a farm, and also his dwelling-house, yard and field adjoining, "during her natural life." To "my only son [Samuel] and his daughter during their natural lives." Rents of two other farms were given to the relief of the daughter of Colonel William Goodrich, etc. After the death of his wife, his son, and his son's daughter, he gave —

my whole Estate in Winnessimit to be an annual Encouragement to some Godly Ministers and preachers, and such as may be such, whoe

¹ History of New England, chap. lxxi.

shall be by my trustees judged faithfull to those principles in Church discipline which are owned and practiced in the first Church of Christ in Boston of which I am a member A maine one whereof is, That all Jurisdiction is Committed by Christ to each perticular organical Church, from which there is noe Appeal, visable Saintship being the matter, and Express Covenanting the forme of the Church.

His "whole Estate in Winnessimit" embraced nearly all the territory upon which is built the present city of Chelsea. Of the four trustees named in the will, the Rev. James Allen seems to have been the most vigilant and capable. To these trustees eight instructions are given, which embrace, among other things, the building of a church and parsonage at Winnissimet, the providing for the education of theological students and the support of a minister, and the preaching every quarter of the year of a sermon "to instruct the people in Boston in Church discipline, according to the word of God."

Early in the year 1673 legal proceedings began between the testator's only son, Dr. Samuel Bellingham, then in Europe, on one hand, and Allen and his co-trustees on the other. Dr. Bellingham was represented by his attorney, one Richard Wharton, who made a deposition in 1673 containing the serious charge that Allen had not only exercised an undue influence over the mind of the testator, but had actually inserted in the will after its execution a clause revoking all former wills. For this he was severely censured and appears to have been proceeded against criminally.

The contest over the will was begun in the following way. The interest of the trustees was, it would seem, only a remainder available after the termination of the several lives in being. Yet immediately after the Governor's decease Wharton, attorney for the son, leased for a year a pasture belonging to the estate to one Blake. Stoddard, one of the trustees, in the following April gave Captain Edward Hutchinson possession of the same pasture "for one whole year." Hutchinson then turned into the pasture a horse, which Blake put into the pound. Hutchinson replevied the horse and put him back into the pasture. Blake again put the animal into the pound, and Hutchinson again replevied him.

The contest over the will initiated in the County Court in Boston in 1673 lasted till 1787 — a period of one hundred and fourteen years. It is said that every tribunal, including the most inferior, under three

governments — Colonial, Provincial, and State — was resorted to. The final decision, which was against the validity of the will, was given by the Supreme Judicial Court in 1787, held by Judge Sumner.

On a tomb in the Granary Burial-Ground appears this inscription:

Here Lies
Richard Bellingham, Esquire,
Late Governor In The Colony Of Massachusetts,
Who Departed This Life In The 7th Day Of December, 1672,
The Eighty-first Year Of His Age.
Virtue's Fast Friend Within This Tomb Doth Lye,
A Foe To Bribes, But Rich In Charity.

When the litigation ended, the Bellingham family was extinct, and the assumption naturally is that the whole estate was hardly sufficient to pay the legal expenses.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES read the following paper, written by Mr. Michael J. Canavan:

THE OLD BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY, 1656-1747.

When the Boston Public Library was founded in 1852, no suspicion seems to have lurked in the minds of the promoters that there had been a somewhat similar institution at a previous date. Two centuries earlier, however, an acrimonious, contentious Puritan, with a somewhat maculate reputation for fair dealing, made provision for giving a selection from his own doctrinal books to the town of Boston, appealing to others for additional contributions, and set apart a sum of money for a building in which there should be room for the housing of the books.

This gentleman, Captain Robert Keayne, lived on the south side of the market-place, at the corner of "Roxbury Road" and the "Broad Street leading to the Sea."¹ An enthusiast in the art of war, he had stirred up the public to found here a branch of the Honorable Artillery Company, of which he had been a prominent member in

¹ This estate was at the southerly corner of what are now known as Washington and State Streets.

London. In private life also he sought strife, or at least did not avoid it, and was engaged in frequent law suits.

In 1636 the Widow Sherman brought an action against him for killing her sow, which was tried for six years in all the courts, finally reaching the General Court, where the quarrel culminated, and split that assembly into the two bodies we now call the Senate and House of Representatives.

He was generally regarded as a niggard and extortioner, was fined and publicly censured by the Court in one case for exacting undue profits, haled before the church for admonition, and barely escaped excommunication for his covetous practices.

Like many a financier, who plays the game eagerly to the very end, piling up his gains, and then is anxious for a wise distribution of the booty, this grim old warrior, after driving hard bargains during life, desired to give the people some benefit of his shrewdness, and set aside a third of his property of £4000 for public purposes, especially for the building of a market-place, "which shall give country people shelter when they come in to sell their goods," and in it was to be a room or two for the Courts, one for the Artillery Company, and "a convenient room for a library."

His will can be seen in the tenth volume of the Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, fifty-three pages in fine print, begun in March, 1653, and finished in December of the same year. For nine months this militant merchant tailor sat above his shop, evenings, in the chamber which "jettied out" over the street, and, studying his "shop books," his "vellum debtor and creditor books," and his "inventory book which was a breviat" of his whole estate, planned out this scheme of benefiting the town and quieting the clamors and evil repute raised up against him.

The document is a curious mixture of religion, bile, and public spirit, together with a long-winded and somewhat successful attempt to clear his reputation from the stains cast upon it.

First, as a good Christian, a good, orthodox, congregational Calvinist, he purges himself of heresy:

Renowncing all manner of knowne errors, all Popish & Prelaticall superstition, all Anabaptistickall inthusiasmes and Familisticall delusions, with all other fayned devises and all Old and New upstart opinions, un-

sound and blasphemous errors, and other high imaginations that exalt themselves against the hon^r and truth of God &c.

Having denounced all heresies, he proceeds to show that he has the right doctrine. "Renouncing," he says, —

all confidence or expectation of merritt or desert in any of the best duties or service that ever I have shall or can be able to pforme acknowledging that all my righteousnes sanctificōn and close walking with God if it were or had bin a thousand time more exact then ever yet I attayned too, is all polluted and corrupt and falls short of cōmending me to God in point of my justification, or helping forward my redemption or salvation, and deserve nothing at God's hands but Hell and Condemnation.

So he goes on with the tale of the atonement, Christ's merits, imputed righteousness, saving grace, and sanctification.

From spiritual affairs he turns to a consideration of his death. He desires —

comely & decent burriall . . . yet having beene trayned up in Millitary Discipline from my young^r yeares, & seeing . . . [God] hath beene pleased to use me as a poore instrument to lay y^e foundation of that Noble Society of the Artillery Company in this place, . . . I shall desire to be buried as a souldier in a Millitary way.

The Captain had in mind a protest against the undue expense, the pomp and ceremony of funerals of that day, the gifts, the sashes, the mourning rings, the lavish entertainment in food and strong potations. The Governor and Assistants may drain a glass in his memory, but with them must be his old companion, the artillerist.

While he was making this will, the fire of 1653 swept away the houses from State Street to the Dock, and the Captain wrote that he wished a conduit built and a market-place, —

the one useful in case of fire and the other useful for country people that come in with their provisions, that they may have a place to sit dry in. . . . And in the Market-house there is to be a convenient room or two for the Courts to meete, a gallery for the elders, a room for an armoury to keep the Armes of the Artillery Company . . . and a convenient room for a library.

I shall be willing to cast in my mite & to bring in my lime and hare, possibly God may stirr up the hearts of others to bring in their badger skines & silke, and other more costly things that the worke may goe on & prosper in so small a beginning.

I give and bequeath to the beginning of that library my 3 great writing bookes, which are intended as an Exposition or Interpretation of the Whole Bible, as also a 4th great writing booke in which is an exposition on the Prophecy of Daniel, of the Revelations & the Prophecy of Hosea not long since begun, all which Bookes are written with my owne hand.

This was a good beginning for the library, his own manuscripts, over which he had toiled and moiled; in which doubtless the Second Coming of Christ and the New Jerusalem were discussed at large, with full consideration of the four monarchies, the Big and the Little Horns, the Beast, the Papal Antichrist, the Seventh and last trumpet, the great day of Armageddon, wherein all "the reliques of the Roman Beast" shall be destroyed, and then, the Millennium, the thousand years of innocence and happiness on earth. The ministers were continually writing on these prophecies, stating that the time was nigh at hand. Mr. Cotton had lately delivered a series of sermons on the prophecies of Daniel; and the Rev. Thomas Parker of Newbury had applied himself with such invincible industry to this study that "the Strains which his immoderate Studies gave unto his Organs of Sight, brought a miserable Defluxion of *Rheum* upon his Eyes; which proceeded so far, that one of them swelled until it came out of his Head, and the other grew altogether dim some Years before his Death."¹

Captain Keayne not only gave his special treasure, his manuscripts, but directed that —

my brother Wilson² and Mr Norton³ with my executor and overseers may view the rest of my bookes and choose from amongst them such of my Divinitie bookes and commentaries, and of my written sermon bookes or any others of them as they shall think profitable and usefull for such a Library (not simply for show but properly for use) they being all English, none Lattine or Greeke, then the rest may be sould. — and though

¹ Mather, *Magnalia* (1702), book iii. chap. xxv. p. 144.

² The Rev. John Wilson.

³ The Rev. John Norton.

my bookes be not many nor very fitt for such a work, being English and small bookes, yet after this beginning the Lord may stir up some others, that will add to them and helpe to carry the worke on by bookes of more value, antiquity, use and esteeme; and that an Inventory may be taken and kept of those bookes that they set apart for the Library.

There was a clause in the Captain's will as to his "bookes given to begin the Library:"

If the towne of Boston should not within three years after my death build a handsome room for the Library and another for the Elders and Schollars to walke and meete in, then they may be delivered to the President or some of the Overseers of Harvard Collidge at Cambridge as an addition to that Library.

The College Library, of course, preceded Captain Keayne's, but he regarded his scheme as a new idea, and his books formed the nucleus of the library for the town.

When the Puritans were getting ready to sail to Salem in 1629, Mr. William Backhouse presented eight books to the Company; and at a meeting on April 16, 1629,¹ Mr. Skelton handed in a "Note of Books," "2 dussen and ten catechismes" and fifty-four small doctrinal books and pamphlets, the total price for which was 7£ 5s 4d. The "2 dussen and ten catechismes" would indicate that this collection was for the use of the ministers and for church work at Salem. Nothing further is heard of them.

Captain Keayne died March 23, 1655-56, and his will was proved on the second of May following. It was found that the Captain's legacy was not sufficient to carry out his intentions, and a subscription was taken up by which some £300 additional were procured. On the first of August, 1658, an agreement² was made by Thomas Joy and Bartholomew Bernard —

to build a comely building sixty six feet by thirty six feet from outside to outside, set upon twenty one pillars ten foot high between pedestals and capitals well brased all four waies placed upon foundation stone at the bottom. The whole building to jetty over three feet without the pillars every way. The height of the house to be ten feet above the pillars

¹ See Massachusetts Colony Records (second edition), i. 37 f, 37 g, 37 h.

² Original agreement in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

and a half storey above with gable ends upon it on each side. A walke upon the top fourteen of fifteen foot wide with two Turrets and turned Balusters and Rails round about the Walke according to a modell or draught presented to us by said Tho. Joy and Bart. Bernad . . . to be erected by June 4th, 1658.

On the understanding that rooms were to be provided for holding courts and that there be a place underneath free for all inhabitants for a market, the Colony contributed one half to the support of the building and Boston and Suffolk County the other half in equal proportions.¹ On January 28, 1660-61, the Selectmen made final payment of £680 for completing the Town House and conduit.² This building was erected at the head of "the Broad Street leading to the Sea," or "Market Street" as it was also called, on the site of its successor now known as the Old State House.

As to the conduit, for which Captain Keayne provided, "to be used in case of fire," it was made south of the Town House near the Captain's land; but from some unknown cause, although there seems to have been abundant water in that vicinity, none was ever found in the conduit, and in 1672 Captain Nicholas Paige, who had married Keayne's granddaughter, was allowed to tear it up and remove the bricks.

In 1669 the Rev. John Wilson died and was succeeded by John Oxenbridge,³ lately a fellow of Eton College, a friend of Cromwell, Milton, and Andrew Marvell. Unfortunately he died soon — in 1674. In his will, dated March 12, 1673-74, is a bequest which shows that the library was already started:

To the Public Library of Boston or elsewhere as my executors or overseers shall judge best, Augustines Works in six volumes, The Centurys in three volumes; the Catalogue of Oxford Library.⁴

This last book was the catalogue of the Library founded at Oxford in 1602 by Sir Thomas Bodley. The first catalogue was printed in 1605 by the librarian, the Rev. Dr. Thomas James. There is a copy of the edition of 1620 in the Prince Library, a fat octavo, backed with

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. (part i.) 327.

² Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ii. (second edition) 158.

³ For Oxenbridge in England, see index of Masson's *Life of Milton*.

⁴ Mather Papers, in Catalogue of Prince Library, ii. 15; Suffolk Probate Files, no. 716.

a page from some black-letter law book, and with a fine old leather binding. Under the title *Centuriae* is given the following book: *Ecclesiasticae Hist.* Magdeburg. 1569. This History is in several folio volumes, giving an account of the Christian religion from the time of Christ through the successive centuries.

The six volumes of Augustine were a valuable addition to the town library; for the Calvinists built their faith on him as the greatest of the fathers, and preached his doctrines of Predestination, Election, Reprobation and the Perseverance of the Saints. The severity and harshness of Calvin appeared in the earlier writer, the necessity of chastising religious error and heresy even by the stake if necessary.

One of the leading men in colonial Boston was Sir Thomas Temple, the proprietor and governor of Nova Scotia from 1656 to 1670, when Charles II choused him out of his territory and sold it to France for a secret bribe.¹ Sir Thomas ranked immediately after the Governor in Boston, taking precedence of the Deputy-Governor. For fourteen years he had a residence at the North End and spent most of his time there. In the Suffolk Probate Files (no. 697) is a will made by him October 14, 1671, as he was about to return to England. It contains the following clause:

I give and bequeath unto my Cosen John Nelson the *Ketch Peloran* . . . And the remainder of the Cargo at Neuvis under his charge which I estimate at £900. as also all my Bookes which I estimate at £150 &c in case of sd Nelsons death before he receive them then I doe give & bequeath . . . the Bookes above sd. at the select men of Bostons dispose viz: such as are fit for the Towne Lybrary unto that; and the rest to be sold & given to the poor of this Towne.

Sir Thomas made another will in London March 27, 1674, just before his death, in which the Town Library was not mentioned.² It is, however, not at all unlikely that before his departure from New England, he made a gift of some of his books to the library. It is what one might expect from that generous and genial gentleman.

Only one book still exists which seems to have belonged to the Town

¹ Acadia was ceded to France by the Treaty of Breda, 1667, but was not actually turned over until 1670.

² Both wills are given in Prime's *Some Account of the Temple Family*, Appendix (1899), pp. 94-99.

Library. It is in the Boston Athenæum, a pamphlet by the Rev. Samuel Mather, entitled *A Testimony from the Scripture against Idolatry & Superstition*, with the inscription, "ffor the publike Library at Boston 1674."¹

In the *Life and Errors of John Dunton*,² a publisher and bookseller who visited Boston toward the close of the seventeenth century, the author gives an account of his contemporaries in London. Among them was "Mr. Richard Chiswell who well deserves the title of the 'Metropolitan Bookseller of England,' if not of all the world. His name at the bottom of a title page does sufficiently recommend the Book. He has not been known to print a Bad Book or on Bad Paper." On February 16, 1676-77, Mr. Chiswell wrote the following letter to the Rev. Increase Mather:

I have sent a few books to M^r Vsher³ without order, which I put in to fill up the Cask. You may see them at his shop, & I hope may help some of them off his hands by recommending them to your publick Library, especially the new ones, which cannot be there already, pticularly D^r Caves *Lives of the Fathers*, & D^r Cary's *Chronologicall account of ancient time*, which are both exceedingly well esteemed by the most learned & ingenious men here.⁴

In an old New England library a large proportion of the books were devoted to theology and the quotations given above show that our Town Library must have had a strong ecclesiastical tang, and that it was regarded as the most likely purchaser in Boston of costly editions.

Towards the end of the life of Captain Keayne, Deacon Wiswall and Dr. Cooke occupied a couple of buildings on his land between his house at the southerly corner of State and Washington Streets and the site of the Blue Anchor Tavern, now occupied by the Globe Building. On August 2, 1683, the Selectmen gave an order to David Edwards —

¹ The title-page has neither imprint nor date. It is generally assigned to the year 1670. In the address "To the Reader," the Rev. Increase Mather, a brother of Samuel Mather, speaks of it as a posthumous work; and as Samuel Mather died October 29, 1671, the pamphlet obviously could not have been printed before the end of 1671.

² See John Dunton, *Life and Errors* (1818), p. 204.

³ John Usher (1648-1726).

⁴ 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 576.

to receaue of Elder John Wiswall & Doct^r Elisha Cooke £34. 4s. in mony for severall things he brought from England for y^e vse of the Library, by order of Captain Brattle, and is in p^{te} of a greate sune due from them for Captain Keayne's legacye to y^e use of said Library.¹

News that the Colony Charter was revoked reached Boston, July 5, 1685. Charles II died and was succeeded by James II early in 1686. Bloodthirsty Colonel Percy Kirke of Kirke's Lambs had been talked of as a governor for Massachusetts, and the Colony looked forward with dread to his coming. In May, 1686, Edward Randolph arrived with a commission for Joseph Dudley as President, and though the Colony did not like Dudley, he was a lesser evil than Kirke. On May 25 his commission was published. With Randolph came Mr. Ratcliffe, a minister of the English Established Church. Randolph requested that he be given the use of one of the three Congregational meeting-houses. This was refused, but Samuel Sewall wrote on Wednesday, May 26, 1686, that Mr. Ratcliff "is granted the East-End of the Town-House, where the Deputies used to meet."² In Foote's *Annals of King's Chapel* is an account of the fitting up of the room with twelve forms and a pulpit to be carried in and out; and in the same book is the following entry from the Church records:

Boston, New England July 4th 1686. At a meeting of the church — that for the present the prayers of the Church be said every Wednesday and Saturday in y^e Library Chamber in y^e Town House in Summer at seven of the Clocke in the morning and in the Winter season at nine o'clock in the morning.³

In the beginning of the reign of Charles II, Mr. Ratcliffe would have been shown the door quickly. Then the King's commands were only half obeyed, his commissioners were snubbed and disregarded, yet nothing was done to the Colony, for the Commissioner for Foreign Plantations recognized that Massachusetts was strong and ripe for rebellion. John Evelyn touches a couple of times on this point.⁴ He was appointed a Commissioner, and soon learned that this Colony

¹ Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, vii. 162.

² Diary, i. 141.

³ Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, i. 45, 46.

⁴ Diary, June 27, 1671; August 3, 1671.

must be allowed to have its own way. But now the King could take away their Charter, and impose spies and a Royal Governor upon them; for the Colony was weak and poverty-stricken in men and money, having lost many soldiers in King Philip's War, and hundreds of houses in the great fires of 1676 and 1679. The country was nearly bankrupt, and it took a generation for the people to recover from these disasters. Still they had not lost all their spirit, for after some quarrel with the royal officers, an order was passed at a meeting of the Council held in Boston December 8, 1686, that "the Colony records shall be put in the Library Chamber and kept there, and two locks be put on the office, the keys to be kept by some one deputed to that service."¹

This would indicate that the town did not intend the newcomers should exceed the privileges granted, that it resented the use of the Library Room for their morning prayers, and barred them out.

Sewall makes this record:

Monday, Dec^r 20. 1686. Governor Andros comes up in the Pinace, touches at the Castle, Lands at Gov^r Leveret's wharf . . . and so march up through the Guards of the 8 Companyes to the Town-House. . . . It seems speaks to the Ministers in the Library about accommodation as to a Meeting-house, that might so contrive the time as one House might serve two Assemblies.²

An arrangement was made soon after by which the English Church held their meetings in the Old South Meeting-house, and their furniture was removed from the Town House.

At a town meeting March 11, 1694-95, it was —

Voted that bookes of the Register of births and deaths in the Town of Boston shall be demanded by the Selectmen in whose hands soever they may be and that all Bookes or Other things belonging to the Library and all the goods or Estate belonging to the Town be demanded and Taken care of by the Selectmen.³

¹ 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vii. 162.

² Diary, i. 159, 160, 162.

³ Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, vii. 220.

At a meeting of the Selectmen on January 1, 1701-02, it was "Ordered that whereas Samuëll Clough did formerly borrow the Towns Globes that he do now return them unto the Town Treasurer."¹ This gentleman made almanacs for the years 1701, 1702, 1703, giving the quarters of the moon according to the aspects, courts, spring-tides, time of the full sea at Boston, and eclipses. Clough used the terrestrial and celestial globes in his computation. If they had belonged to the school, they would have been referred to as the school globes, but from being called the "Towns Globes," we infer that they came from the Town Library. On August 31, 1702, the Selectmen "Ordered that M^r John Barnard jun^r be desired to make a Cattalogue of all the bookes belonging to the Towns Libeary and to Lodge the Same in y^e s^d Libeary."²

This young man, a recent graduate of Harvard, was then an itinerant preacher. His father was a selectman, and his grandfather one of the two builders of the Town House. He was a North End boy,³ and like the Rev. Benjamin Colman was in early manhood rather given to sensibility, a fad of those days. He recovered from it, however, and became the level-headed pastor of a church at Marblehead, dying there in his eighty-ninth year. On February 28, 1704, the Selectmen ordered that —

Mr. John Barnard Jun^r having at the request of the selectmen Set the Towne Libeary in good order he is allowed for s^d Service two of those bookes of w^{ch} there are in y^e s^d Libeary two of a Sort.⁴

Mr. Barnard's catalogue has not come down to us, more's the pity, for then we should have known the contents of the library, or at least approximately.

On October 2, 1711, a fire which started in Williams Court burnt the houses on both sides of Washington Street and at the head of State Street, reaching nearly to the Dock. Queen Anne had graciously given her portrait to the Province, and it hung in the Town House.⁵

¹ See Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xi. 13, 14.

² Ibid. xi. 26.

³ 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 178.

⁴ Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xi. 37.

⁵ See Palfrey's History of New England, iv. 295 note, quoting a letter from Governor Dudley to the Lords of Trade, March 10, 1705: "I have received her

The valuable collection of books in the Town Library survived this ordeal, not so happily as her Majesty, who passed through the fiery furnace without a hair of her head being harmed; but thanks to the efforts of the neighbors the library was saved, though a little singed, a little depleted.

The following spring we find Judge Sewall writing to Jeremiah Dummer, the agent of the Province at the Court of Queen Anne. This gentleman was the son of "Cousin Dummer" who had come from Newbury in 1660, and was apprenticed to John Hull, the mint-master, to learn the goldsmith's trade.¹ The younger Jeremiah Dummer studied at Harvard, and later at the University of Utrecht, where he spent several years and received a doctor's degree. Finding no prospect of business or occupation in America that was agreeable to him, he settled in England and was employed by Lord Bolingbroke in some secret negotiations. He had assurance of promotion to a place of honor and profit, but the death of the Queen blasted these hopes. He was a prominent lawyer and man of fashion in London, a sceptic in religion and wary in politics. His services to Massachusetts as its agent were of value.²

Boston. N. E. April 22/1712.

To Jeremiah Dummer Esq. Agent.

Though it be something with latest (*annus abiit*) yet 't is more easy asking your Condolences of our Losses by the October Fire, now that we have the pleasure of seeing persons beginning to build the wast-places and especially those of publick concern, the Court-House; and Meeting-House. In our Boston Library several valuable Books were lost, as the Polyglot Bible, the London Criticks, Thuanus' History, a Manuscript in two Folios left by Capt: Keyn, the Founder &c.³

By the Court House Sewall meant the Town House, which was rebuilt at the joint expense of the Province, the County, and the Town.⁴ The two folios contained the exposition of the prophecies in Daniel and Hosea, an irretrievable loss, for though other interpretations of

Majesty's picture and coat of arms. The same were the next day fixed in the Council Chamber of this Province."

¹ See John Hull's Diary, p. 150 note.

² See Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts (1767), ii. 187.

³ Sewall's Letter Book, i. 422.

⁴ See Publications of this Society, viii. 19-21.

these prophets could be procured, the captain's manuscripts were not to be replaced. This English Polyglot Bible was edited by Brian Walton, Bishop of Chester, born 1600. He was a follower of Laud and in the Civil War was dispossessed of his livings and imprisoned. In 1645 he joined the King at Oxford. His plan for the Polyglot was approved by John Selden and Archbishop Usher. All six of the folio volumes came out between 1654 and 1657. Nine languages appear on its pages and Walton claimed responsibility for the whole. Thuanus, whose History is mentioned in Sewall's letter, was Jacques Auguste de Thou, son of the President of Parliament, born in Paris, 1553. The Latin edition of De Thou's History, which was the one in the Boston Library, was in seven folio volumes, entitled *Iac. Avgvsti Thvani Historiae svi Temporis*.

Soon after this fire, arrangements were made by which a new house was to be built on the former site. On June 2, 1713, the Selectmen ordered —

that an advertisement be printed desiring all persons who have any of the Town's Libery or can give notice of any booke's or other things belonging to y^e Town-House before y^e Late fire to inform y^e T. Treasurer in ord^r to y^r being returned.¹

The following advertisement appeared in the Boston News-Letter of June 8, 1713:

ALL Persons that have in their Keeping, or can give Notice of any of the Town Library; or other things belonging to the Town-House in Boston, before the late Fire: are desired to Inform the Treasurer of the said Town thereof, in order to their being returned.

The first Volumn of Pool's Annotations was carryed away in the late Fire in Boston; any Person that has it, or any other Books, carry'd away at that time, or any other Goods, are desired to bring them to the Post Office, that the true Owners may have them again (p. 2/2).

These annotations were by Matthew Poole or Pole, the biblical commentator, born at York, 1604. He was graduated at Emmanuel College in 1624, and had a Presbyterian congregation in London.

On a miserable rainy day, foggy and slippery, January 28, 1718,

¹ Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xi. 185.

Judge Sewall went over to Charlestown to hold court, and the Rev. Simon Bradstreet persuaded him to spend the night at his house. Sewall had given his host Chrysostom's works in two folios and learned that Mr. Bradstreet already had all the Eton edition. Whereupon "I offered to give Dr. Mather's Church History for them and put them into the Library." On the following morning, "Mr. Bradstreet read to me Chrysostom going out of Constantinople into Banishment; and I read in return, both in Latin, very entertaining."¹ The account of the departure of that great bishop and "golden mouthed" rhetorician is of intense interest now as it was two hundred years ago, for on leaving his people whom he loved passionately, he preached a marvellously pathetic homily, which these two elderly Puritans were reading seated by the fireplace of a winter's morning.

It is to be hoped that Sewall carried out his intention of giving the book to "the Library" — the Town Library I think he meant, for that at Harvard was generally alluded to as the College Library.

My attention was called a short time ago to a volume of sermons by Lewis Atterbury, an elder brother of Bishop Atterbury. On the cover was stamped in gold —

BELONGING · TO · ^EY · LIBRA
RY · OF · BOSTON · IN ·
· NEW ENGLAND ·

It might not unnaturally be inferred that this inscription refers to the old Town Library. But, in the King's Chapel Library are eight volumes by Henry More and five books by other writers — all strongly Anglican — bearing the same stamp. This stamp is simply the English of *De Bibliotheca De Boston*. — which, as will appear later, is the inscription on other books belonging to the King's Chapel Library. Hence these books could scarcely have belonged to the old Boston Town Library and are now doubtless in their proper place in the King's Chapel Library.

Sewall's letter to Dummer recounting the loss of several volumes, and the advertisement calling in books, show that the Boston Town Library was in fair condition after the fire. Later on steps were taken to improve and increase it. In the town reports we find that on Feb-

¹ 5 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vii. 163.

ruary 25, 1733-34, the Selectmen voted "that Mr. Treasurer Wadsworth be directed to take a Bond of Nathaniel Green Esq^r for Ninety Pounds being now in his hands, A Donation from Col^o Fitch and others, in Order to procure Books for the Town Library."¹

Ninety pounds in those days would buy many books. In the Bowditch Collection in the Boston Public Library is a fine copy of Leybourn's *Cursus Mathematicus*, a thick folio, beautifully printed, full of illustrations. A note by the original owner, John Allason of "ffoulesyke," England, states that he paid for it, March 21, 1691, 1£ 9s 9d. When one considers the make-up of this volume, its excellent paper and printing, the engravings, its stout leather binding, and its limited sale, this was a very low price for the book.

The Town House was again burned in 1747. Nothing remained but the walls. In the *Massachusetts Magazine* of 1790 (III. 467) is an account of the building, which says that in this fire "a vast number of ancient books and early records together with a collection of valuable papers were destroyed."

After this nothing more appears in letters or records in regard to the Public Library. Mr. Prince had formed his library at the South Church. King's Chapel had its collection given by King William, and in 1765 John Mein, a bookseller, started a large circulating library,² so that the loss was not so severely felt. The town was in no condition to start a library on its own account. There was its portion to pay for the rebuilding of the Town House; the country was at war with France, and when that ceased, there was a little interval of peace, followed by a struggle lasting from 1754 to 1763; then came the Stamp Act and taxes, a quarrel with king and parliament and the Revolution. During this time the town was impoverished and needed all its means to live, and to support its poor. When the question of a Public Library was taken up again in the middle of the nineteenth century, it seemed a perfectly new idea; apparently no memory was left of the old Town Library.

If the records in regard to the Library are scanty, still they show that a Town Library was started in 1656, and kept in a room devoted to it. From time to time it received accessions, and in 1711 it was valuable. In 1734 it received great additions, and it probably gave

¹ Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xiii. 249.

² See Publications of this Society, xi. 196-207.

up the ghost in the fire of 1747, which left nothing but the bare walls.

We shall now apparently digress from the subject, but it is for the purpose of setting forth two acts of courtesy, one ancient, the other of to-day, extended by the old Boston Town Library and by our present Boston Public Library to a sister institution.

An account has been written by the Rev. Henry W. Foote¹ of a library given to King's Chapel by King William in 1698, ninety-six volumes, to which many others were added later. It was kept in the houses of the successive ministers of King's Chapel; and though it suffered somewhat in the Revolution, when Boston was in turn occupied by the two opposing armies, its loss was greatest during the time it was deposited with the Theological Library. In 1807 it entered those gates, and two hundred and fifty-one volumes were lined up on the shelves. In 1823 it came out with ranks sadly thinned. Red Coats and Blue Coats had passed it by, but the Black Coats made great havoc, more than decimating it, leaving but two hundred and fourteen volumes. These books were finely bound; on one cover was stamped in golden letters:

SVB
AVSPICIIS
WILHELMI
III

and on the other:

DE
BIBLIOTHECA
DE
BOSTON.

In 1823 by vote of the proprietors of King's Chapel the library was placed in the Boston Athenæum, where it has since remained.

One of the most popular theological writers in the time of James I and Charles I was Dr. Joseph Mede, or Mead, a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, an Anglican of the older type, not greatly given to ceremony and with a leaning toward the simplicity of the Puritan; yet "he never could digest that black doctrine of absolute Reprobation." Dr. Mede's Works were in the King's Chapel Library, but had

¹ 1 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xviii. 422.

disappeared. In January, 1907, the volume¹ was turned over to the Athenæum by the Boston Public Library, to which it had been given in 1890.

It is pleasant to record a similar kindness done by the old Boston Town Library. On January 30, 1715-16, at a meeting of the Selectmen, "it was ordered that *L. Cursus Mathematicus* be delivered Mr Miles it appearing y^t y^e s^d booke belongs to y^e Church Lib-
rary."² Mr. Miles was the Episcopal clergyman, and in the old King's Chapel catalogue was "*Leybourne's Cursus Mathematicus* 1690." It had evidently gone astray, and probably owing to the advertising and the demand for the return of books to the Town Library after the fire, had been handed in at the Town House and was restored to its owners by the Selectmen.

Among the books in the Church Library was the monumental *Biblia Polyglotta* by Walton, the loss of which from the Town Library Sewall referred to with so much regret in his letter about the fire of 1711. Fourteen years later the Judge again alludes to this book, when writing to the Rev. Thomas Prince, May 30, 1762.³ He says he does not believe in Prince's scheme for a lending library, but will contribute liberally to buy the Polyglot for the use of the minister of the South Church.

The reading of this paper was followed by a discussion in which the PRESIDENT, Mr. LINDSAY SWIFT, and Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS participated. Mr. SWIFT remarked that some distinction should be made between a "public library" such as Mr. Canavan had described and the popular institutions of to-day. Continuing, he said:

In the earlier instances books were bequeathed to city or town corporations⁴ and kept, as appears to have been the case with the Boston Library, in some room as a part of the municipal possessions. The present public libraries, which have existed in their present form

¹ [The return of Mede's book to the King's Chapel Library came from a suggestion by Mr. Canavan. — ERROR.]

² Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xi. 240.

³ Sewall's Letter Book, ii. 208.

⁴ See J. J. Ogle's *The Free Library* (London, 1897), p. 11.

for considerably less than a hundred years, are subject to municipal control and are supported by "rates" or taxation. This distinction is touched upon in the Ninth Report of the Free Public Library Commission of Massachusetts.¹ The early subscription libraries, in fact, more nearly resembled the democratically constituted institutions of to-day than did these town-owned assemblages of books. Benjamin Franklin, who proudly speaks in his Autobiography of the Philadelphia Library, which he organized when he was twenty-six years old, as the "mother of all the North American subscription libraries, now so numerous," takes pains to call this significant act his "first project of a public nature." The true seeds of development seem then to have been rather in these quasi-public libraries of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries than in any collection of books such as that so accurately and fully described by Mr. Canavan.

On behalf of Mr. FRANCIS H. LEE, Mr. MATTHEWS exhibited an original licence issued by Governor John Wentworth of New Hampshire in October, 1774, authorizing the marriage of Samuel Charles and Susannah Abbott. The licence is a printed form, running "To either of the ordained Ministers of the Gospel in said Province, and to them only." The words "and to them only" have been struck out, and inserted in writing are the words "or To Thomas Merrill Esq: of Conway."

Mr. EDDES communicated a copy of the inscription on a tablet in memory of Major Simon Willard (1604-1676), set in 1902 into the wall of Canterbury Cathedral, outside the Crypt, near St. Gabriel's Chapel. The inscription² follows.

¹ Report for 1899, p. 43.

² The inscription has been kindly verified by Dean Wace of Canterbury Cathedral, who writes that the tablet is of white marble. It need scarcely be pointed out that the terms "British Colony of New England," "British Forces," and "American Commonwealth" would not have been employed by an American.

In Memoriam

MAJOR SIMON WILLARD,

BORN 1604, DIED 1676.

EXACTLY ONE HUNDRED YEARS BEFORE THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

A KENTISH SOLDIER-AND AN EARLY PIONEER

IN THE SETTLEMENT OF THE BRITISH COLONY

OF NEW ENGLAND, AMERICA, 1634.

HE WAS MADE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE BRITISH FORCES

AGAINST THE HOSTILE INDIAN TRIBES.

HE WAS DISTINGUISHED IN THE MILITARY LEGISLATIVE

AND JUDICIAL SERVICE OF THE AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH

UNTIL HIS DEATH-AGED 72.

OF SIMON WILLARD'S ANCESTORS ONE WAS PROVOST OF

CANTERBURY 1218, AND ANOTHER WAS BARON OF CINQUE PORTS 1377,

AND HIS DESCENDANTS TO THE PRESENT DAY HAVE HELD

EMINENT POSITIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

**ERECTED BY
SYLVESTER D. WILLARD, M.R.C.S.
LONDON, 1902.**



John Cheverus

*Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from a lith. and by Doyle in the possession of
Thomas Rogers Esquire*

APRIL MEETING, 1908

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 23 April, 1908, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read, and, after slight amendment, approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY *pro tempore* reported that a letter had been received from the Hon. FRANK WARREN HACKETT accepting Corresponding Membership.

The President appointed the following Committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices,— Mr. WALDO LINCOLN, Dr. JAMES B. AYER, and Mr. JOHN NOBLE, Jr.

To examine the Treasurer's Accounts,— Messrs. GARDINER M. LANE and FRANCIS H. LINCOLN.

On behalf of Mr. DENISON R. SLADE, a Corresponding Member, Mr. HENRY H. EDES exhibited a silhouette¹ by Doyle of John Cheverus,² the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Boston.

¹ This silhouette of Bishop Cheverus belonged originally to the Rev. Dr. Eliphalet Pearson (H. C. 1773), a Fellow of the Corporation of Harvard College, and the first Principal of Phillips Academy, Andover. It was inherited by his daughter Margaret Bromfield Pearson, who married the Rev. I. H. T. Blanchard (H. C. 1817), the Unitarian minister of Harvard, Massachusetts, and always adorned the wall of her chamber. At her death it passed to her kinsman our late associate Dr. Daniel Denison Slade, and is now the property of his son, Mr. Denison R. Slade. See Publications of this Society, v. 198 note, 205 note, viii. 290.

² Jean Louis Anne Madeleine Lefebvre de Cheverus (1768-1836) signed himself, when Bishop of Boston, John Cheverus (Memorial History of Boston, iii. 518).

Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS read the following paper:

HINTS OF CONTEMPORARY LIFE
IN THE WRITINGS OF THOMAS SHEPARD.

In the fall of 1634, Thomas Shepard, then a young man not quite twenty-nine years of age, set sail from the east coast of England with the purpose of chancing the hazards of what would practically be a winter voyage to New England. The sailing of the vessel on which he embarked had been announced several weeks before this, but various circumstances had detained her, and notwithstanding the fact that if one should make the voyage at that time of the year the passage to Boston could not be accomplished before the latter part of December, still it was determined by her owners to accept for the crew and the passengers the peril, the discomfort, and the suffering which would necessarily attend the trip, and for their craft the hazard of a winter approach to the dangerous New England coast. On the sixteenth of October, therefore, the vessel was permitted to sail from Harwich, having on board amongst others Thomas Shepard, his wife, and their infant son. That Shepard should have been willing to incur the exposure of such a voyage as this, is strong testimony to the peril of the situation in which he was then placed in England. Driven from pillar to post he had, notwithstanding his youth, become a marked man, and it was not only evident that he could not pursue his profession in England without sacrificing the tenets to which he was especially attached, but it was even probable that he might be punished for having disobeyed orders not to preach which had been given to him personally by Archbishop Laud, when Bishop of London, several years before. He had only been able of late to practise the functions of his office in remote districts, and if he ventured into parts where he was known he was obliged to exercise great discretion and remain in partial concealment. It was under the pressure of these circumstances that he sailed from Harwich, anticipating perhaps a voyage full of peril, but certainly without thought that even before he should be out of sight of land he would plunge into a violent storm which would utterly disable the ship and compel him three days thereafter to abandon her at Yarmouth. The experience of these three days was full of horror, and his sermons in after years bear evidence of the im-

pression then made on him, through the frequent use of marine metaphors evidently drawn in a large measure from this source.

The restraints imposed in England upon the movements of non-conformists were at that time being drawn closer and closer, and it was not an easy matter for Shepard to follow out his plan of emigration. The exposure of his family on the unfortunate vessel in which he made his first attempt had resulted shortly after his landing in the death of the child which had shared their perils. This misfortune in no way altered his determination to emigrate. He and his wife remained, therefore, quietly under cover waiting for another opportunity to get away. During this period of seclusion another son was born to them, so that when they sailed from London in August, 1635, the family was again the father, the mother, and the infant son. Their voyage, although marked by much rough weather, was not unusually long, and Boston, the place of their destination, was gained in October, a little less than a year after their first attempt to reach it.

One of the first needs of an immigrant on landing here in those days was a house. There were no places of public entertainment adequate for sheltering or feeding immigrants arriving in groups, and the permanent residents of Boston, even if their homes were elastic, could not take in all that arrived. The settlers who landed with Shepard were, therefore, in luck, in finding the question of house-hunting determined for them by the migration of the Hooker colony from Newtown to Hartford. Here, in Newtown, were vacant houses, so situated that they were available, which the owners wished to dispose of. They would at any rate serve a temporary purpose and were promptly appropriated by the newly arrived party.

The fact that Shepard was a conspicuous man in England and that he had been the victim of persecution was undoubtedly caused by the wonderful influence that he exercised as a preacher over his audiences. Even the sermons preached by him as a beginner were afterwards published without his privity. It is not surprising, therefore, to find him at once taking high rank among the New England clergymen. A new society, with Shepard at its head, was promptly organized in Newtown to fill the vacancy occasioned by the migration of Hooker and his followers, and when in 1637, in order to escape the political pressure of the believers in Mrs. Hutchinson who were then in the ascendant in Boston, the sessions of the General Court were trans-

ferred to Newtown, it was Shepard's strong influence, according to Cotton Mather, which secured the selection of that place as the site of a proposed college. Already it had been voted in 1636 that there should be a college and that the appropriation then nominally made should become available, one half the next year when the site should be selected, the other half when the building should be completed. Had the site been fixed in 1636, Shepard's voice might not have prevailed. As it was, with the Court holding its sessions in his own church, surrounded by his own people, and with himself in earnest in the work, he was able to accomplish his purpose.

It is obvious that there must have been some strong, moving power to influence the passage of the Act of 1636 prescribing that there should be a college. This Act did not in terms immediately appropriate any money — it was a mere promise or agreement to do this, and probably met with less opposition on that account, than if it had provided for an actual appropriation of £400 payable in whole or in part at once. Popular Acts which call for no immediate disbursements are at all times easy of passage, as was the case with resolves that statues should be erected in honor of the military heroes of the Revolution, in the early days of our Congress. When it came to making these resolves effective, that was another matter; and so with this Act of 1636, it would perhaps have died a natural death if somebody had not followed it up the next year and insisted upon the determination of the site as provided for in the original Act. Who it was in the General Court that did this we do not know, but what Cotton Mather says may help us to determine who inspired the action. The passage in Mather's *Life of Shepard* which justifies this statement makes the assertion that it was with respect unto "the enlightening and powerful ministry of Mr. Shepard, that when the foundation of a college was to be laid, Cambridge, rather than any other place was pitched upon to be the seat of that happy seminary."

It is clear that Shepard's desire to secure the planting of the College in Newtown was prompted by his general interest in the cause of education. He was himself an educated man, and he tells us in his *Autobiography* that he looked upon the College as "an opportunity of doing good to many by doing good to students." It was, in part at least, "at the desires of some of the students" that the *Theses Sabbaticæ* were published. It was at his instigation that the Commis-

sioners of the United Colonies recommended a general contribution in aid of the College. He stands revealed to us, therefore, not only as one having posthumous reputation, but as a person of command and influence in the community where he lived, and the esteem in which he was held was not only recognized by the General Court, in the adoption of Newtown as the site of the College, and in his appointment November 20, 1637, upon a committee to "take order for a Colledge at Newtowne," but found expression in the writings of contemporary authors, especially in the prefaces with which his fellow-workers introduced to readers his published sermons. It might be inferred, indeed, without this testimony that one who has left behind him so many published volumes of sermons and polemical treatises upon theological subjects, many of which have passed through numerous editions, must of necessity have received contemporary recognition; must as a matter of course have commanded the respect of the community in which he lived. Now, although we cannot identify the person in the General Court who introduced the Act of 1636 ordaining that there should be a college, we can see that he whose influence secured the adoption of its site was this powerful and influential preacher who has left such an extraordinary record behind him, a record of homage reaching to comparatively recent times, and culminating in the coupling of his name as a mark of esteem and honor in the title of a religious society in Cambridge.

Thus far in treating of Shepard's position in the community and his close connection with educational matters, we have dealt with accepted or obvious facts. Let us now, for the moment, enter the field of permissible conjecture, in an endeavor to show a probable association of his name with the bequest which has made Harvard immortal. Shepard was a graduate of Emmanuel College and it is not too presumptuous to say that to him as a fellow-graduate, John Harvard would, on arrival, have turned for counsel; for advice; for friendship. That the relations between the two were friendly, and that Shepard on his part esteemed Harvard, as we have just seen that Harvard must have esteemed Shepard, is shown by the allusion to Harvard in the Autobiography, at once the most touching, the most complete, and the most personal of the references to Harvard to be found. "This man," Shepard says, "was a scholar and pious in his life and enlarged toward the Country and the good of it in life and death." Who, more

likely then than Thomas Shepard, the earnest promoter of the college and the personal friend of John Harvard, to have been the man to suggest to Harvard the method which he adopted to make his little fortune useful to his country?

Such, in brief, was the man from whose writings I have extracted for the purposes of this paper, a few paragraphs; such was his position in the community; and such are the possibilities which associate his name with the foundation of the great University in Cambridge.

We have quite a number of publications to which we turn for information concerning the early life of our fathers. What cannot be found on the pages of one writer may perhaps be discovered elsewhere by the diligent student, but no matter how much we may unearth, there is so much more that we should like to know that we examine eagerly every new source of information which may possibly enlighten us upon the every-day life of the early settlers, or which may increase our knowledge concerning topics which, being common to all, and being known to all, were not thought worthy of record. Now, Thomas Shepard preached continuously to the little congregation in Cambridge nearly fourteen years, and he left behind him publications, or manuscripts which were subsequently published, numbering upwards of a volume for each year of his Cambridge pulpit service. He was a learned man, but was cut off from sources of literary study in Cambridge, concerning which isolation he pathetically observes, "I have no books about me where I am."¹ His writings are fortified with quotations from the Bible and references thereto, by chapter and verse, and occasionally, but very rarely, also with some general allusion to the writings of some profane author. Some of Shepard's works are in the nature of doctrinal treatises, some are sermons. Of these latter, some were delivered when in England, others were prepared for his Cambridge congregation; and it might be expected that somewhere in the pages of these volumes would be found hints which would reveal to us what we seek for in vain in the ordinary writings of the day — the interior life of a New England household in early times.

¹ *Some Select Cases Resolved* (Boston, 1747), p. 44.

Again, the authors of *A Defence of the Answer made unto the Nine Questions* (London, 1648) say: "We had neither time nor Bookes ready at hand to Consider some of the quotations" (p. 29). Thomas Shepard and John Allen figure as the joint authors of this volume. Sabin treats it as identical with the *Treatise of Liturgies*, which is placed among the works of Shepard.

He who shall undertake to glean from the writings of Thomas Shepard such chance allusions as will help to reconstruct past life in Massachusetts will soon realize that the author had other motives in the publication of his works than to entertain his readers. This was apparent even to those of his contemporaries who furnished the press with his writings. William Greenhill and Samuel Mather when they brought out "Subjection to Christ," while they described his preaching as "close and searching," "with abundance of affection and compassion to his hearers," and while they asserted that he affected "plainness of speech" and did not "shoot his arrows (as many preachers do) over the heads of his hearers," yet felt compelled to add, "It is a stumbling block to some that his sermons are somewhat strict, and (as they term it) legal;¹ some souls can relish none but meal-mouth'd Preachers, who come with soft and smooth and toothless words." If, therefore, we to-day meet with the same stumbling-block, it is a consolation to know that contemporary admirers realized its existence and felt compelled to allude to it in submitting one of these works to the public for approval. It must also be stated that it will be evident to any reader of these sermons that the cold words on the printed page do not convey to the reader the power which made them so influential with the hearers, and this fact, as well, is recognized by the author of the "Address to the Christian Reader" in the same volume, presumably Jonathan Mitchel, who says, "These posthumous Editions are farre short of what the Author was wont to do, and of what the Sermons were in preaching." "Reader," says Mitchel in the preface to the Parable of the Ten Virgins, "if thou comest hither to carp and cavil, or to criticise upon each circumstantial imperfection, this work is not for thy turn."

It was with the expectation of finding in these sermons some references to the little College in which Shepard was interested that I began an examination of their pages, and when I saw that "the desires of some of the students in the Colledge" had to do with "the more large discussing of the controversie," I felt confident that there must be allusions; inferences to be drawn from metaphors and illustrations; and finally deductions to be made from what was said to the audience,

¹ Legal may have a technical meaning here. Legalists are contrasted with Antinomians in contemporary literature. They were those who adhered to a rigorous administration of the word.

that would be helpful in filling out the story of the College and in sketching a picture of early life in Cambridge. While the result of this examination along these lines was a failure, the search was not absolutely without result. For instance, we have in *Theses Sabbaticæ* a minute description of what may be done with propriety on the Lord's Day, together with a statement of what ought not to be done. If we run through the enumeration therein of the things permitted and the things forbidden, we shall find that however much backsliders may have sloughed away, the legal rules for the observance of the Sabbath do not differ much from those which Shepard laid down and fortified with biblical references. These rules are of sufficient interest to quote in full. They are extracted from the *Sanctification of the Sabbath*.¹ After laying down certain general propositions the author goes on specifically as follows:

SUNDAY LAWS.

If any work be done for any worldly gain, profit or livelihood, to acquire and purchase the things of this life by, (which is the principal end of week-day labour, Eph. iv. 28; 1 Thess. iv. 12,) this is a servile work, all one with what the commandment calls "thy work." Hence buying, selling, sowing, reaping, which are done for worldly gaine, are unlawfull on this day, being therefore servile works: hence also worldly sports and pastimes (which are ordained of God to whet on worldly labour, not necessary every day but onely at some seasons) are therefore most proper appurtenances unto daies of labour, and are therefore unlawfull upon this day: holy Times are no more to be sported on then holy places; hence also on the other side, to rub the ears of Corne, to dress meat for comfortable nourishment of man, because they respect not worldly gaine, are no servile works nor yet unlawfull, but may be more lawfully done for the comfort of man then to lead his horse to the water this day. Luke 6: 2. & 13. 13. & 14. 5. hence also such works as are done onely for the preservation of the Creatures, as to pull a sheepe out of a ditch, to quench a fire in a Towne, to save Corne and Hay from the sudden inundation of Water, to keepe Fire in the Iron Mills, to sit at Sterne and guide the ship, and a thousand such like actions (being not done properly for worldly gaine) are not unlawfull: God himselfe not ceasing from workes of preservation when he did those of Creation: hence also such works as are not works of imme-

¹ *Theses Sabbaticæ, or The Doctrine of the Sabbath: etc., etc.* By Thomas Shepard, Pastor of the Church of Christ at Cambridge in New England. London, 1649. The Sanctification of the Sabbath . . . The fourth Part, p. 36 et seq.

diate worship, but onely required necessarily thereto, as killing the Sacrifices in the Temple, travelling a Sabbath daies journey to the publique assemblies, being no servile workes for outward gaine, are not unlawfull upon this day.

Hence the building of the Tabernacle (which was not so much for mans profit as God's honour) because it might be done upon the six daies seasonably enough hence it is prohibited upon the Sabbath day. Exod. 31. If a man hath Corn in the field, though he may pretend that the weather is uncertain, and it is ready to be brought into the Barn, yet he is not to fetch it upon the Sabbath day, because there is no eminent danger of spoyle the Monday after, and then he may fetch it as well as upon that day: the like may be said concerning Sea mens setting sayle upon the Sabbath day, though they be uncertaine of a faire gale upon the day after. Yet we must trust God's providence, who almost in all such matters keeps us at uncertainties: hence also the sweeping of the house ought not to be done now, if it may as well be done the day before: So also to buy any things at shops or to wash clothes; if they may be done the week before or after, they must not be done on this day: hence on the other side works of necessity, which cannot be so conveniently done the day before or after, are not unlawfull upon this day, as to flie in persecution, to watch the City, to fight with the Enemy, Math. 24. 24. 2 Kings 1. 2. Hence also works of necessity not onely for preservation of life, but also for comfort and comeliness of life are not unlawfull: for tis a grosse mistake to thinke that works onely of absolute necessity are allowed onely upon this day: for to lead an Ox to water, which in the strictest times was not disallowed of, is not of absolute necessity, for it may live more than a day without it; onely its necessary for the comfort of the life of the beast: how much more is allowed for the comfort of the life of man? The Disciples possibly might have lived longer than the Sabbath without rubbing Corn eares, and men may live on Sabbath daies generally without warm meat, yea they may fast perhaps all that day; yet it is not unlawfull to eate such meat, because its necessary for the comfort of life. Hence also to put on comely garments, to wash hands and face, and many things as are necessary for the comeliness as well as the comfort of life, are not unlawfull now: there is sometimes an inevitable necessity by God's providence, and sometimes a contracted necessity through want of care and foresight; in this case the work may sometime be done, provided that our neglect beforehand be repented of: in a word, he that shall conscientiously endeavor that no more work be done on the Sabbath than what must be done for the ends mentioned, that so he may have nothing else to doe but to be with God this day shall have much peace to his own conscience herein, against

Satans clamours: hence lastly, not onely outward servile work, but servile thoughts, affections, and cares, are to be cast off this day from the sight of God, as others are from the eyes of men; servile thoughts and affections being as much against the fourth Commandement as unchaste and filthy thoughts against the seventh.

Such were the rules laid down for the observance of the Sabbath by one whose word was law with his congregation. I think we can find running through them an unexpected liberality of thought. That which was necessary for the preservation of life came within the line of works not prohibited on the Sabbath, but so also did that which was essential for the comfort of animals; and if such consideration was felt for them, how much more might be done for man! It is not unlawful, he says, to eat warm meat on the Sabbath, and the inference is plain that it was not unlawful for Mrs. Shepard to prepare it for the table. That which was done specifically for gain was always unlawful. The practical definition of works of necessity and of mercy permissible on the Lord's Day does not differ much from what can be extracted from our statutes and court decisions to-day.

But how about his congregation? Did they observe the day along the lines laid down by him? Listen to what he says to them. After asserting that God has set aside this day for man, he goes on as follows:¹

HOW THESE LAWS WERE BROKEN.

And is this the requitall, and all the thanks he hath for his heart-breaking love? to turne back sweet presence and fellowship, and love of God in them, to dispute away these daies with scorne and contempt, to smoke them away with Prophanenesse, and madde mirth, to Dreame them away with Vanity, to Drinke, to Sweare, to Ryot, to Whore, to Sport, to Play, to Card, to Dice, to put on their best Apparell that they may dishonour God with greater pompe and bravery, to talk of the World, to be later up that day than any other day of the Weeke, when their own Irons are in the fire, and yet to sleepe Sermon, or scorne the Ministry, if it comes home to their Consciences; to tell Tales, and break Jests at home, or (at best) to

¹ *Theses Sabbaticæ, or The Doctrine of the Sabbath: etc., etc.* By Thomas Shepard, Pastor of the Church of Christ at *Cambridge in New England*. London, 1649. *The Sanctification of the Sabbath . . . The fourth Part*, p. 45.

talke of Forraigne or Domesticall newes onely to passe away the time, rather than to see God in his Workes and warme their hearts thereby: to thinke God hath good measure given him, if they attend on him in the Forenoone, although the Afternoone be given to the Devill, or sleepe, or vanity or foolish pastimes.

Who were these renegades, these dissipated rioters and card-players, who slept late Sunday mornings, and in addition took naps during sermon time; who thought their duty to the Church and their obligations to the day ended with the morning service; against whom Shepard was emptying his phials of wrath? Were they students? Were they members of his own congregation? Surely he had some cause for thus admonishing his hearers, but let us hope that in his anger his austere spirit overstated the case. At best, however, we must confess that there must have been recalcitrants in Cambridge in those days, that all was not harmony and peace. Over and over again he warns his hearers in unconventional language against the vices to which the young men of that day were exposed and from which one would have inferred that they might have been exempt in a pioneer rural community. "Men wonder," he says in one of his sermons, "why, in this country men are more vile than ever they were, men that gave great hopes; the reason is this, they have seemed to be under Christ's government, but secretly cast it off."¹

In *Subjection to Christ* he discusses at some length town-orders and deplores resistance to them. He lays down rules as to what laws are binding and what are not. To appreciate the full force of this discussion, it must be borne in mind that the government of the Colony was administered during nearly all of Shepard's pastorate without any code of laws. It was not until 1641 that the Body of Liberties was adopted and not until 1648 that a complete code of laws was secured. During this period the affairs of the Colony were carried on under the Charter, with no other provision for details of administration than an occasional statute. Important trials were held before the General Court of the Company; punishments were adjudged practically at the variable discretion of individual magistrates; members of religious societies were kept under control by church discipline; and town affairs were administered by officers -- selectmen, we should

¹ *Subjection to Christ* (London, 1652), p. 25.

call them to-day — whose authority was derived from consent and generally recognized.

RESISTANCE TO TOWN OFFICERS.

Shepard puts a question, "When is power cast off in towns?" and proceeds to answer it as follows:¹ "When any Town doth cast off the power and rule of Townsmen . . . ?" He then goes on to say:

I know sometimes men may not be so able, wise, and carry matters imprudently: Town-orders may also sometimes want that weight, that wisdom, those cautions, that mature consideration as is meet, as also that due and prudent publication that all may know of them, with records of them. But take Town-orders that be deliberately made, prudently published, for the publick peace, profit, comfort of the place, to oppose these, or persons that make these, with much care, fear, tendernes; If I know anything, is a sin of a crying nature, provoking God, and casting off his government, I confesse, if there be not care here; I know no way of living under any government of Church or Common-Wealth, if the publick affaires of the Town be cast off.²

Note the strength of this last sentence, and bear in mind the undeveloped state of the colonial form of government. Then think how much it meant to say that whether under the government of the Church or of the Commonwealth, still there must be loyal obedience to those who were engaged in administering the affairs of the towns. These strong expressions must have been occasioned by resistance to town officers and repudiation of town-orders as he terms them, which came immediately under his observation and touched him closely.

He then goes on to discuss the question of how far men's consciences are bound by town-orders and human laws. In doing this he lays down a definition of the source of law, which is perhaps worthy of notice.

ALL LAWS FROM THE SCRIPTURE.

He says:

All good laws and orders inacted in any place by men, are either expressly mentioned in the word or are to be collected and deducted from

¹ Subjection to Christ (London, 1652), Quest. 3, p. 120.

² Ibid. Answ. 2, p. 122.

the word, as being able to give sufficient direction herein. For all the authority of the highest power on earth in contriving of lawes, is in this alone, viz. to make prudent collection and speciall application of the general rules, recorded in Scripture, to such special and peculiar circumstances which may promote the publick weal, and good of persons, places, proceedings.¹

The foregoing shows Shepard's sympathy with Cotton, who was then preparing his proposed Code of Laws for the establishment of a Theocracy.² We must therefore refer to his English experience the following exposition of a legal proposition: "Its a known thing among men, that a Father may receive a gift or Legacy given to him, and his heires, and he, and his heires are bound to perform the conditions of the Covenant."³

COLONIAL AFFAIRS.

We can obtain from time to time Shepard's views as to the condition of the Colony in its relations to the outer world. Unfortunately, there is nothing on the surface to aid us in determining the dates when the several sermons were preached from which the extracts are procured. "New Englands peace and plenty of means breeds strange security,"⁴ he says in one of his publications, but farther on in the same volume we find the following: "I do fear there is at this day as deep mischief plotting against New England as ever the sun saw."⁵ This apparent contradiction may, perhaps, be explained by the supposition that the strange security arose from ignorance of the plotting. In one of his sermons he enlarges upon the peaceful condition of the country:

The reports of divisions in New England are fables: The churches here are in peace; The Commonwealth is in peace; The Ministry in most

¹ Subjection to Christ (London, 1652), p. 124.

² May 25, 1636, "M^r Shepeard" was one of a committee appointed by the General Court to prepare "a draught of lawes agreeable to the word of God, w^{ch} may be the Fundamentalls of this comonwealth" (Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 174). March 12, 1637-38, "M^r Sheopard" — one of several who were described as "elders of severall churches" — was also on a committee appointed by the same body for a similar purpose (ibid. i. 222). This Shepard or Sheopard was probably our Shepard.

³ The Church Membership of Children, p. 26.

⁴ The Parable of the Ten Virgins (London, 1660), p. 106.

⁵ Ibid. p. 166.

sweet peace; The Magistrates (I should have named first) in peace; All our families in peace; We can sleep in the woods in peace, without fear of the Indians, for fear is fallen upon them.¹

Again in a controversial publication he describes the Colony in the following words:

A Commonwealth erected in a Wildernesse, and in so few yeares brought to that state, that scarce the like can be seen in any of our English Colonies in the richest places of this America.²

It would probably be a comparatively easy matter, by reviewing the various episodes in the history of the Colony, to determine what caused these different expressions on the part of the writer. This task, however, I shall not undertake in this connection.

The foregoing represent all that attracted my attention in the volumes of Shepard's sermons that I have examined, in which matters pertaining to the general affairs of the Colony or of the towns were discussed at any length. There remain to be considered, inferences as to the condition of society which may be drawn from the character of the advice offered or warnings given by the preacher, deductions to be drawn from metaphors or illustrations used, and occasional isolated expressions of opinion which when grouped together will show what the speaker thought upon some topic of interest. Among these the most natural place to expect results from an examination would be the metaphors or illustrations. One might almost assume that he would enforce an argument now and then by drawing some illustration from daily life, or by making some comparison based upon a parallel in the ordinary experience of the residents of the little village in which they lived. The resources of this field are greatly reduced, however, by the custom which then prevailed among clergymen of reinforcing every argument with some biblical text or scriptural analogy. Nevertheless we can find a few hints as to life drawn from these sources which, whatever their value, may prove of interest.

NAUTICAL ILLUSTRATIONS.

I have already mentioned the fact that the impression made by his nautical experiences is registered in Shepard's sermons. No other

¹ New England's Lamentation for Old England's Errours (1644), p. 5.

² A Treatise of Liturgies . . . in answer to Mr. . . . Ball, p. 8.

portion of his career furnishes so many metaphors or is so freely drawn upon for illustration. The conditions of a vessel in port or at sea, under calm or during storm, at anchor or breasting the waves, in peril or in safety, are all made use of. The courage of the sailor and his confidence under circumstances of evident danger, his prudence in carefully inspecting everything about the ship before going to sea, his caution in approaching the coast, indeed, nearly every conceivable phase of his existence, is made use of by the preacher to enforce an argument or to illustrate a proposition. It may be that if he had spent the greater part of his life on the ocean and only a few weeks at Cambridge, the peculiarities of rural life in America would have made the same preponderant impression upon him, and we should have had from him a record of how people lived in New England instead of such copious references to the experience of sailors. It is to be noted in this connection that it is the ship and the sailor which furnish these metaphors and illustrations. The mighty power of the ocean itself, its monstrous waves, the cruel surf raging along the shore, have no place in his vocabulary.

SLEEPING IN CHURCH.

One inference may be drawn from these sermons, namely, that notwithstanding the fact that Shepard obviously relied for his effects upon his personal touch with his congregation, he nevertheless was compelled to take note that some of his audience took naps while he was preaching. The tendency towards this act of discourtesy would be affected somewhat by the length of his sermons. The solution of this question may perhaps be found in a reference to those "that come out of the Church when the tedious Sermon runs somewhat beyond the hour."¹ While this expression is capable of a broad interpretation which would not limit "the tedious Sermon" to the length of one hour, it seems to me probable that such is its natural reading.

I have already quoted the expression "and yet to sleepe Sermon" which was included in a category of evil doings against which he warned his hearers. In another place he refers to men who "neglect prayer and sleep out sermons."² Again he says, "We have Ordinances to the full,

¹ The Sincere Convert (London, 1659), p. 69.

² The Parable of the Ten Virgins (London, 1660), p. 226.

Sermons too long, and Lectures too many, and private meetings too frequent."¹ "Some Sermons," he says, "men can sleep them out."² These quotations are enough to show that he was troubled by this lack of attention on the part of some of his hearers. There are more phrases of the same sort, but their recapitulation is not necessary.

We can gather no idea from his sermons of his own pulpit manners, but when he remarks, "People are naturally moved by a thundering minister,"³ we may perhaps conjecture that he had some person in mind whose preaching suggested this adjective; nor does the epithet convey the idea of thorough approval.

IRON MILLS.

The reference heretofore given to the fire in the iron mills, which it was permissible to keep going on Sunday, brings before us the strenuous efforts put forth by the early colonists to make something out of the bog ore of New England.

HOUSEWORK.

We have seen that washing clothes was not permissible on Sunday, and that sweeping ought not to be done on that day if it could be done on Saturday. I have met with one other allusion of interest to the house-wife, namely: "Doth he not let thee like a broom, lie behind the door?"⁴ Evidently broom closets were uncommon, and as for the broom itself, we must not think of it as made of broom corn. Probably it was made of birch or willow twigs. The phrase, "Here are no sour herbs to make the Lamb sweet,"⁵ may perhaps be regarded as pertaining to the domain of the kitchen.

TABLE MANNERS.

As for hints at daily life there are few. "Its from the excellency of a knife to cut well, but to cut my fingers with it when I should be

¹ The Parable of the Ten Virgins (London, 1660), part ii. p. 5.

² Ibid. p. 6.

³ Some Select Cases Resolved (Boston, 1747), p. 49.

⁴ The Parable, p. 103.

⁵ Ibid. p. 106.

cutting my meat with it, ariseth not from the end of the knife, nor from the intention of him who made it,"¹ is, however, a reference to a daily peril at meal-times. It brings before us the adage, "Fingers were made before forks," the application of which will show how the fingers of one having no fork were in danger when he cut his meat.

COIN SCALES.

"When there is much counterfeit Gold abroad, every man will have his scales, and not only look and rub, but he will weigh every piece he takes."² Here we have an indication of what was essential for every person who received coins in those days of degraded and short weight money. The scales were a necessary part of every pecuniary transaction, even if the question of counterfeit coin did not come in.

GARDENING.

"As with Apricott trees rooted in the earth, but leaning on the wall,"³ obviously refers to the method of training fruit trees on walls with southern exposures which prevails to-day in England; but "A Gardiner may intend to turn a Crab tree stock into an Apple-tree, his Intention will not alter the Nature of it until it be actually ingrafted upon"⁴ may have been suggested by grafting accomplished in Cambridge gardens.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE AND VISITING COMMITTEES.

"I conceive," he says, "'tis casting off Christs power, to take away any power from Magistrates to punish sins against the first Table; of which errors and heresies in Religion are part."⁵ This fairly expresses his hostile and unyielding attitude towards those whom he considers heretics, and yet his liberality leads him to urge his parishioners to welcome strangers. He says:

Many complain that New England hath so little love, Non-members not visited, not regarded (though many times unjustly). Oh, they thought

* ¹ Certain Select Cases Resolved, p. 7.

² The Parable, p. 223.

³ Ibid. p. 127.

⁴ The Sound Believer (Boston, 1742), p. 206.

⁵ Subjection to Christ, p. 116.

to see so much love, and care, and pity; but here they may live and never be spoken to, never visited! Oh, take heed of this; Nothing beautifies a Christian in the eyes of others more than much love (hypocrisy is naught :) Oh excellence; visit poor families, sit one half hour and speak to discouraged hearts. Shew kindness to strangers; Such you were; I'll warrant God will bless you, this was the Glory of Christ, full of grace and truth.¹

The visiting committee dates back, it will be seen, to colonial times.

ARMOR.

In those days our soldiers wore armor. Shepard refers to this, setting forth the reluctance of a man to expose himself without his armor; "but," he adds, "when he hath his armour on of proof, and such armour that he knows let him receive never so many wounds, yet he shall escape with his life,"² then he is ready to go forward.

SOLDIERS.

As for soldiers themselves, he regards the individual as unobjectionable, but he says "when they are got into a knot together; now they go strong against all lawes of God or man."³ Evidently he had experienced some serious difficulty with riotous soldiers, for he goes on to say, with an apology for what has just been repeated: "'Tis not now an Artillery day, only I must speak a word, because it is a thing of moment and matter of great conscience with me."⁴

INDIANS AND BEGGARS.

He evidently had not much use for the native red men and speaks of them "as poor naked Indians,"⁵ "poor Indians, herds of beasts."⁶ As for beggars, one would not expect to find any indication of professional mendicancy in a pioneer community. There are nevertheless references to beggars, and the following smacks of professional

¹ The Parable, part ii. p. 61.

² Ibid. p. 41.

³ Subjection to Christ, pp. 119-120.

⁴ Ibid. p. 121.

⁵ The Parable, p. 89.

⁶ Subjection to Christ, p. 192.

methods: "it is with faith as with a poor woman that hath a child, and hath nothing in the world to give it, she takes the child at her back and goeth from door to door, and what she getteth she giveth to the child."¹

SERVANTS.

A large part of the hard work in the Colony was performed in those days by indentured servants. During their term of service the position of these servants was anomalous. They shared with their masters the exposure incident to pioneer life under conditions of climatic changes which made it inevitable that even the best protected must suffer, and in addition they were subject to the caprices of those having charge of their work. The time of the servant belonged absolutely to the master, and the latter had the right to compel the service of the former by any means at his command. The relations between master and servant were therefore suitable topics for advice from a preacher, and Shepard discusses the matter on several occasions. He asserts that there is much discontent; that servants are weary of their masters and masters weary of their servants; that each complains of the other.

The Master saith the Servant is unruly, froward, surly, slothful, unfaithful, untrusty, and must not be spoken to; the Servant saith his Master is passionate, unkinde, wants pity to his body, and sometimes strikes him without cause, and much more careless of his soul, never instructs him.²

He says that one who has not yet been adopted by the Church is as yet no son but a slave to Satan, "a servant at best, working for Wages only, and fear of the Whip, who shalt not always abide in God's House as Sons shall do."³ He speaks of servants casting off their subjection "to their Governour," and discusses the condition of affairs as follows:

When they are not obedient, but answer again; if they be let alone, then idle; if rebuk'd and curb'd, then stubborne and proud and worse for chiding; and finde fault with their wages, and victuals and lodging; weary and vex out the heart of Master and Mistresse, and make them

¹ The Saints Jewel, p. 184. This is printed in connection with The Sincere Convert, with continuous pagination.

² The Parable, part ii. p. 55.

³ The Sound Believer, p. 216.

weary of their lives; their God also almost sometimes; and that by such professing Religion, and all that they might be from under the yoke.¹

Here we have a picture of a condition of affairs in the Colony in Shepard's day which is in some respects appalling. Servants discontented, insolent and rebellious, held to their work by fear of the whip, and seeking to ameliorate their condition by hypocritical pretensions of conversion. On the other hand, the masters are accused of being captious, wilful, and indifferent to the welfare of the servants, and the result is that masters and mistresses are weary of their lives.

SICKNESS, REMEDIES, AND MEDICAL PRACTICE.

Of sickness we have only allusions to the capriciousness of the appetite of a consumptive.² Shepard had suffered in his family from the inroads of this disease, and doubtless his comments were based upon experience. Of remedies and medical practice there are but few hints. Men, he intimates, will not go to drug stores or call upon physicians if they have remedies at hand — or to quote his own words:

Now if a fainting man have *Aqua-Vitæ* at his beds head he will not knock up a Shop-Keeper for it. Men that have a Balsome of their own to heal them, will not go to a Physitian.³

In the following excerpt, not only do we have a reference to one of the great remedies of the day, but a suggestion as to methods of administration which seems reasonable. "As surgeons when they let a man bleed, bid him look another way."⁴ The sick-room diet and tonics are set forth as follows:

Men that are sick and like to die, can eat no common wholesom meat, but are now nourished by conserves, and Alchermies, and Spirits of Gold.⁵

Alchemy, the predecessor of chemistry, furnishes this title for a compounded prescription, while in the last mentioned we have the famous *aurum potabile*.

Here also is a bit of contemporary nursing practice:

¹ Subjection to Christ, p. 132.

² The Parable, pp. 107, 166.

³ The Sincere Convert, p. 164.

⁴ The Saints Jewel (London, 1659), p. 197. Printed with the Sincere Convert and having continuous pagination.

⁵ The Parable, p. 110.

What is the End of the Mother in laying Wormwood and Gall upon her Breast, but that the Child by tasting the Bitterness of it might be weaned and have his Stomach and Will turned from it.¹

The comparison of the relative merits of "dish-milk and flit-milk" with "breast-milk" as food obviously belongs in the same category.² If he had spelled "flit" "fleet," we could easily have identified it with skimmed milk by means of our dictionaries.

The reduction of inflammation in the case of a burn is thus expressed: "As 'tis in Burnings so the Fire must be first taken out before there can be any healing."³ His views as to the proper treatment of a demented person bring before us with painful precision the lamentable condition of these unfortunates until quite recent times, if indeed we can feel positively assured that the opinion that he expresses has everywhere disappeared:

Sick and weake men are to be tender'd much, but Lunatick and Phanatick men are in best care; when they are fetter'd and bound.⁴

PHYSICS.

His knowledge of the laws of physics is perhaps up to the times in which he lived, and his references to the subject, although rare, are just enough to give an idea of what it amounted to. "It's a question," he says, "whether the beams of the Sun are fire: Some demonstrate it thus, Take a Glasse and gather together the beams, it burns."⁵ Here is his explanation of the law of gravity:

As 'tis with a stone, cast it up its against the bent of it, because the nature of it is to rest in the Centre, and hence it comes down again. It is not by internal bent but by external *vis* or force.⁶

A few pages further on in the volume from which the last quotation was extracted he reveals a theory prevalent in his day in the following words:

¹ The Sound Believer, p. 62.

² The Parable, part ii. p. 97.

³ The Sound Believer, pp. 111, 112.

⁴ *Theses Sabbaticæ*, The Sanctification of the Sabbath, p. 43.

⁵ The Parable, p. 57.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 211.

Some naturalists observe, that Brass would be Gold, it tends to it, had it but more heat of the Sun to correct it, and to bring it to perfection.¹

The following will be recognized as a description of the telescope: "Optick glasses will take within them the present image of things afar off."² He speaks several times of "Bristoe Stones" which resemble pearls so closely that Jewellers alone can distinguish them. He refers in this to Bristol Stones, which being rock crystal might perhaps be mistaken for diamonds, the word pearls being used in this connection in its generic sense, for valuables or jewels. He does, indeed, in one place say, "There are your *Bristow* Stones like Diamonds."³

Speaking of the malleability of lead he says, "as *Austin* shows by a Similitude of Lead which some Artists can beat so small as to make it swim,"⁴ and he describes sympathetic or invisible ink in the following terms: "As letters writ with the juice of Oranges, cannot be read until brought under the fire."⁵ Referring to magnetic attraction, he says: "Just as it is with the Load-stone drawing the Iron, who would think that the Iron would be drawn by it? But there is a secret Vertue coming from the Stone which draws it; and so it comes and is united to it."⁶

GEOGRAPHY.

The Beginning of the Sabbath is devoted to a discussion of the hour when the day should begin and includes, of course, the time when it should end. By means of a geographical illustration he disposes of certain theories of which he disapproves. After stating that some would measure the Sabbath by the daylight, would have it from the sun-rising to sun-setting, he goes on — "but if the day-light be the measure of the Sabbath, those that live in some parts of *Russia* and East-land must have once a yeere a very long Sabbath, for there are some times of the yeere wherein they have day-light a moneth together."⁷

¹ The Parable, p. 227.

² The Parable, part ii. p. 23.

³ The Sincere Convert, p. 114.

⁴ The Sound Believer, p. 238.

⁵ The Sincere Convert, p. 52.

⁶ The Sound Believer, p. 142.

⁷ *Theses Sabbaticæ*, The Beginning of the Sabbath, p. 3.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

References to English history are rare in Shepard's pages, but one, at least, is worth noting. "Remember," he says, "that the Discovery of *Faux* in the Vault, was the Preservation of *England*."¹ The celebration of Guy Fawkes's day was likely to impress this event upon his memory in a special manner since he was born upon the 5th of November, 1605.

HERBALISTS.

Naturalists were not so closely subdivided in those days as they are to-day. Moreover, not much attention was then paid to the study of the various branches of natural science. It is not strange, therefore, to find none of them mentioned, unless under herbalists he meant botanists. He speaks of the herbalist who finds out about plants from books, but perhaps treads under foot the very plants that he is after, without knowing them.² This might pass for the description of an incompetent botanist, but when he speaks of "Herbalists, that treat of the Sovereign excellencies of several herbs," he evidently refers to an herb doctor, and when he adds, "but when they come to gather them in the garden, they take their counterfeits in the room of them,"³ he shows his contempt for them. The similarity of the ending of each reference makes it probable that he only had in mind herbalists who made use of herbs in their therapeutics.

CHILDREN'S MANNERS.

The ladies of his congregation must at times have shrunk under his castigating criticisms. Here, for instance, is one that may have penetrated many a household: "What little hope of a happy generation after us, when many among us scarce know how to teach their children manners?"⁴

BANKRUPTCY AND IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT.

Bankruptcy and imprisonment for debt furnish illustrations drawn from the conditions of colonial trade. It is evident that somewhere,

¹ The Sound Believer, p. 33.

² Ibid. p. 215.

³ The Parable, p. 41.

⁴ The Parable, part ii. p. 7.

perhaps in England, he had seen some respectable merchant who had failed in business reduced to the necessity of peddling the wares that he formerly sold over the counter.¹ The fact that such an one has no other resource than to begin life again on the same lines in a smaller way impressed him, and he alludes to it more than once. He refers to one "in chains for debt,"² without expression of sympathy, simply saying that if the debtor gets out without satisfying the debt he will be taken again; if, however, the debt is satisfied, he will be set free.

ACTORS AND LOVERS.

During Shepard's collegiate career he tasted some of those experiences in life which were frowned upon by the nonconformist preachers of his day, and it is perhaps to that period of wider experience that we owe references to actors who act the part of kings but "look upon them in their tiring rooms they are but base varlets."³ Perhaps also it is to this interval of gayer life that we owe "the foolish lover," who when he goes to woo a lady falls "in love with her hand-maid that is only to lead him to her."⁴ It would seem to be quite sure that this could not be founded on an experience in rural New England.

FOOTBALL.

Shepard knew nothing of the Rugby game of football. The old-fashioned game was to be won by superiority of kicking. The following reference seems to bring Satan before us as an expert in the kicking game: "Satan now appears with the ball at his foot, and seems to threaten in time to carry all before him, and to kick and carry God's precious Sabbaths out of the world with him."⁵

HUMOR.

Humor is, perhaps, the last thing we should look for in these sermons. Yet there are indications that Shepard could appreciate humorous satire. "Wrastling with his shadow,"⁶ and "can see no

¹ The Parable, part i. p. 80; The Sincere Convert, p. 163.

² The Parable, part i. p. 191.

³ Theses Sabbaticæ, The Sanctification of the Sabbath, p. 88.

⁴ Ibid. p. 175.

⁵ Ibid. p. 49.

⁶ Theses Sabbaticæ, The Morality of the Sabbath, p. 28.

further than his own buttons,"¹ are both of them pointed, vigorous, and humorous expressions, which need no glossary. "*Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus*,"² he says when he trips up an opponent in a polemical discussion. "He who keeps not his shop, his shop will not keep him,"³ is a saying of profound truth but decidedly humorous. "The Elder's foot is now too big for his shoe"⁴ must have tickled his congregation, especially if they could make a personal application of the saying. "And not set the whole house on fire to roast their own Eggs"⁵ squarely anticipates Charles Lamb's method of roasting a pig.

ENGLISH FLOUR.

In a category of evils, such as: "the Family is sick; the Cattle die; Servants are unfaithful;" he puts on even terms with the foregoing, "the English flower is gone."⁶ The colonists in early times were frequently dependent upon Indian meal, but this gives a hint of their real liking for wheaten flour.

POLITICS.

In 1638 Shepard preached the Election Sermon. An abstract of what was then said has fortunately been preserved. The Sermon was inspired by the exciting political events of that year. Vane's indiscreet manifestation of his interest and faith in Mrs. Hutchinson permitted Winthrop easily to undermine his power outside of Boston. The Court of Election was, through Winthrop's adroitness, held at Cambridge. The day was full of excitement and of personal conflict, and the result was the overthrow of Vane. The Sermon is full of veiled personal allusions, from which I select one which undoubtedly refers to Vane's following and at the same time expresses a view as to the political opinions of the people which would pass current to-day.

¹ Theses Sabbaticæ, The Morality of the Sabbath, p. 88.

² A Treatise of Liturgies, p. 42.

³ Subjection to Christ, p. 92.

⁴ Ibid. p. 106.

⁵ Preface by Thomas Shepard — without pagination — to A Reply to a Confutation of some Grounds for Infants Baptisme, by George Philips (London, 1645). See sixth page.

⁶ The Parable, part ii. p. 103.

"The multitude," says Shepard, "are exceeding apt to be led by colours, like birds by glasses and larks by lures."¹

SEPARATISTS.

The phrase "Anabaptists, Familists and rigid Separatists, and who have privily crept into *New-England* churches,"² is very striking. The classification of the rigid Separatists with obnoxious people like Familists and Anabaptists betrays an unlooked for clinging to the Anglican Church on the part of a people who had abandoned all outward signs of adhesion to that Church, and of a pastor who looked upon it as sinful that he took out a licence in London to preach. This phrase is introduced in a discussion of church government. Men who will not acknowledge the authority of the church rules arrogate to themselves the entire authority of the church, "not only," he says, "single members or Officers, but Pastor, and Teacher and Elder and all."³ Such men are especially to be found among Anabaptists, etc.

Dunster, the President of the College, was an Antipædobaptist, and his outspoken views on this subject ultimately led to the termination of his collegiate service. Shepard on his part very likely had Dunster in view in some of his hits at Anabaptists. His allusions to the doctrine which Dunster held in such esteem are at all times contemptuous. For instance, speaking of Anabaptists, he says:

They would not have any Children to be Baptized: and so they make the condition of the Children of the Saints of God (dear to God), in as miserable an estate as the Children of any Turk or Pagan and but as lawful to Baptize them, as a Cat or a Dog.⁴

Again, in a preface to a publication by a friend, he says:

It is much to be feared, that the doctrine of *Anabaptisme*, especially in this controversie concerning Infants, will gangrene farre, and leaven much;⁵

¹ New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxiv. 363.

² Subjection to Christ, p. 100.

³ Ibid. p. 100.

⁴ Wine for Gospel Wantons: or Cautions against Spiritual Drunkenness (Cambridge, 1668), p. 9.

⁵ This is to be found on the third page of a preface by Shepard, which has no pagination, to A Reply to a Confutation of Some Grounds for Infant Baptisme, by George Phillips (London, 1645).

Such language as this concerning a doctrine which Dunster held so dear indicates that there must have been friction between these two men, holding the most important positions in the little village in which they both lived. This might perhaps have been inferred from Shepard's *The Church Membership of Children*, which warmly advocates his ideas upon this subject.

ARCHAIC EXPRESSIONS.

When we meet archaic expressions or run across unusual customs, we cannot feel sure that an explanation of these is to be sought in New England manners and customs. Shepard brought over with him memories of Old England, and his rules of life are deduced from the Scriptures. The New Testament, for instance, furnishes authority for the propriety of rubbing ears of corn on the Sabbath,¹ while it is the Mosaic Law which prohibits work on the Tabernacle on that day.² "Kitchen physick,"³ an expression used more than once, probably came from over the water, but it doubtless referred to food as the best cure for the disease of hunger. "Fired him out,"⁴ which occurs in the *Autobiography* as well as in a sermon, sounds like slang, but it has Shakespeare behind it, and when he wrote "the Bishop fired me out," he evidently meant to put the transaction in vivid form. A reference to "Bonners Cole-house"⁵ coupled with Newgate as a place where those were confined who would not "subscribe" — an allusion presumably to persecutions for heresy — brings before us Bishop Bonner and the Windsor Coal-house, a reference familiar probably to his hearers, but obscure to most of us to-day. "Kiss the clinke"⁶ is another quaint expression that is met with, the reference being plainly to the prison called the Clink. "Walke thus with thy bootes Frenche like"⁷ apparently from the context means to walk pompously, to strut, while on the other hand there is an idea of depression in the description of one whose heart sinks when sin and weakness, death and condem-

¹ Luke, vi. 2.

² Exodus, xxxi. 15.

³ The Parable, p. 18.

⁴ *Autobiography*, p. 34.

⁵ *Subjection to Christ*, p. 97. For the explanation of this I am indebted to Professor Roger B. Merriman.

⁶ *Subjection to Christ*, p. 11

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 27.

nation wrap him about like "Jonah's Weeds."¹ The expression "John's candle flies" may perhaps be based upon some of the illuminations on the eve of St. John's Day.²

The foregoing extracts have been obtained from eleven different volumes,³ printed under the titles given heretofore in the notes, and containing in some instances subdivisions with separate titles, or perhaps two or more sermons, each with its own sub-title. Besides these I have examined three other publications which yielded nothing serviceable for my purposes.⁴ The various editions of Shepard's works which have appeared from 1641 down to the present time, in one form or another, the authorship of which cannot be questioned, number sixty-eight. Besides these Allibone gives three other titles, all of which are questionable, one being — I am quite sure — a pamphlet by Giles Firmin.⁵ Sabin gives the titles of twenty-one editions of *The Sincere Convert*, and fourteen of *The Sound Believer*. Fortunately for the person who cares to examine Shepard's writings, these are all reprints, so that the examination of one will do for all bearing the same title. While these extracts from Shepard's sermons throw some light upon colonial life, they are perhaps of more interest to the topical student than to the general reader. At all events, they reveal to us that our ancestors were human.

¹ *The Sound Believer*, p. 101. For the meaning of this, Professor Kittredge, who has helped me in solving some of these questions, says: See *Jonah*, ii. 5.

² *Certain Select Cases Resolved*, p. 49.

³ (1) *Autobiography*. (2) *The Church Membership of Children*. (3) *New England's Lamentation for Old England's Errours*. (4) *The Parable of the Ten Virgins*. (5) *The Saints Jewel*, with *The Sincere Convert*. (6) *The Sincere Convert*. (7) *Some [or Certain in some editions] Select Cases Resolved*. (8) *The Sound Believer*. (9) *Subjection to Christ*. (10) *Theses Sabbaticæ*. (11) *Treatise of Liturgies*. (12) *Wine for Wanton Gospellers*. *The Saints Jewel*, which is separately cited, is only to be found in connection with *The Sincere Convert*. *The Day-breaking if not the Sun-rising*, etc., is the title of another pamphlet included by Sabin among Shepard's works, but not considered by me as entitled to this attribution.

⁴ *The Clear Sun Shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians*, etc., separately published; *First principles of the Oracles of God*, to be found in *Three Valuable Pieces*; and *Meditation and Spiritual Experiences*, also to be found in *Three Valuable Pieces*, but which was subsequently published by itself. *The Sincere Convert* in the form of a translation into the Indian tongue is also to be seen in some of our libraries.

⁵ *The Liturgical Considerator Considered in Reply to Dr. Gaudon*, London, 1661.

The reading of this paper led to some discussion. Mr. Davis having quoted from Shepard's election sermon of 1638 the words that "the multitude are exceedingly apt to be led by colour, like birds by glasses and larks by lures,"¹ and having remarked that Shepard may have referred to the infatuation felt in the Colony for Henry Vane, Mr. JAMES K. HOSMER, a Corresponding Member, spoke as follows:

The suggestion is interesting. There are grounds for believing that Vane assumed a state and circumstance unusual in the Colony. His long hair and courtier-like dress and ways displeased his ship-mates on the "Abigail," until he managed to win them by his personal charm. As Governor, he was attended on all state occasions by four halberdiers in full armor. His own attire and demeanor were no doubt those of the well-born and high-placed men of the time. On the scaffold, even, Vane appeared in a silken vest of scarlet, "the victorious colour:" certainly in his youth and on occasions less tragic he would not be indifferent to color. The statue of Vane, by Mac-Monnies, in the Boston Public Library, has been criticised as dapper and finical, presenting, as it does, Vane as an elegantly appointed cavalier, plumed and courtier-like, such an one as might have been encountered at Whitehall in attendance upon Charles I. In some such guise, however, the young Governor probably appeared, and Puritans of the graver sort might not unnaturally use such language concerning him as these words of Thomas Shepard.

Again on behalf of Mr. SLADE, Mr. EDES communicated the original marriage settlement, dated 9 March, 1725-26, between Josiah Willard, Secretary of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay from 1717 to 1756, and Mrs. Hannah Clarke, widow of William Clarke.² The marriage settlement, which is wholly in the handwriting of Mr. Willard, follows.

To all People unto whom These Presents shall come, Josiah Willard³ of Boston within the County of Suffolk & Province of the Massachusetts

¹ See p. 160, above.

² William Clarke was the father of Richard Clarke, one of the consignees of the tea in 1773. See Publications of this Society, viii. 78 note.

³ The Hon. Josiah Willard, son of Samuel and Eunice (Tyng) Willard and

Bay in New England Esq^r Sendeth Greeting; Know ye That in Consideration of a Marriage Agreed upon by Gods Grace Shortly to be had & Solemnized between the said Josiah Willard & M^{rs} Hannah Clark of Boston afore said Widow, The said Josiah Willard for himself his Heirs, Executors & Administ^{rs} doth Covenant, Grant & Agree to & with Mess^{rs} Jacob Wendall, Samuel Appleton and Joseph Brandon All of Boston afore said Merch^{ts} Trustees for & on Behalf of the said Hannah Clark, their Execut^{rs} Administ^{rs} & Assigns, That she the said Hannah & her

grandson of Major Simon Willard, was born in Boston 21 June, 1681; graduated in 1698 at Harvard College, which he served later as a tutor and librarian; studied divinity and preached, but retired from his profession because of unconquerable diffidence; travelled in Europe and the West Indies, and at one time commanded a ship in the London trade. On 17 June, 1717, he was commissioned Secretary of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay and held the office till his death. From 1728 till 1745 he was Judge of Probate in Suffolk; and from 1734 till 1755 he sat in the Executive Council. He was universally honored and esteemed and was affectionately called "the good Secretary." At the time of the Knowles riot in Boston, in 1747, Commodore Knowles dined with him. During the dinner the Commodore used some profane language, for which he was gently admonished by his host, but not until the next day. (See the correspondence in Publications of this Society, iii. 239, 240.)

Secretary Willard married (1) Katharine Allen, 24 October, 1715, by whom he had several children; and (2) Mrs. Hannah Clarke, 7 April, 1726, who also brought him two sons and a daughter. Mrs. Clarke was born in Lynn, 1 November, 1684, the daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth (Whittingham) Appleton of Ipswich. She married William Clarke of Boston, at Ipswich, 11 October, 1705, by whom she had several children; and after his death, as already stated, she became the second wife of Secretary Willard. Her first husband, William Clarke, had inherited from his uncle of the same name valuable real estate in Boston, including a parcel at the southeasterly corner of Tremont and School Streets, opposite King's Chapel, now covered by the newer part of the Parker House. The lot measured 68 feet, 10 inches, on School Street and 94 feet, 5 inches, on Tremont Street, its southerly line bounding on the present site of Tremont Temple. On the northerly portion of this lot stood his mansion house, which faced School Street. Here his widow continued to reside after her marriage to Secretary Willard; and here is where Commodore Knowles dined on the occasion already referred to. Mr. Willard died 7 December, 1756. His widow survived him nearly ten years and died 28 July, 1766. See Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ix. 156, xxviii. 61, 135, xxx. 302; Willard Memoir (1858), pp. 368, 369, 400-403; Whitmore, Massachusetts Civil List, pp. 44, 55-59, 80; Publications of this Society, viii. 78 note, 79 note, xii. 134; Suffolk Probate Files, nos. 3273, 4439, 11,380, 13,898; Suffolk Deeds, lxxviii. 136, lxxvii. 191; Minute Book no. 26 of the Superior Court of Judicature, third leaf from end, Docket no. 227, Suffolk term beginning 13 February, 1738-39, of which no Record is known to exist; Suffolk Court Files, ccvi. 15, case no. 108,493; Boston Evening Post, 13 December, 1756, p. 2/2, 4 August, 1766, p. 2/3.

Heirs at all Time & Times after the said Marriage had & solemnized & her Coverture Notwithstanding shall be Entitled to Have, Hold, Retain & Enjoy the sole & separate, Right, Title Interest Use & Property to & in all & singular her Money, Plate Utensils of Household, Trading Stock, Merchandise, Adventures, Goods Chattels & Estate what soever, As well that in her actual Possession, as what is outstanding in Debts by Book, Accompts, Bonds, Specialties, Mortgages or other Securities or in Adventures by Sea or howsoever otherwise to her of Right belonging in as large & ample Manner as she had whilst sole & unmarried, And that the said Hannah shall have free Liberty, full Power & Authority at all Time & Times by her self, her Trustees or such other Person or Persons as she shall think to Nominate & Appoint for her Agents or Factors, To Manage & Employ & Improve the said Estate, To take receive & keep all the Proceeds Incomes, Interest & Profits thereof, to her proper & separate Use, Benefit & Behoof without any Lett, Denial, Hindrance or Obstruction of him the said Josiah Willard And without any Accompt, Reckoning or Answer therefore to be made rendered or given to him or any others from by or under him, or without Disavowing any Act, Thing or Things to be made or done by the said Hannah her Trustees or Agents in that Respect; And that the said Josiah Willard his Heirs Execut^{rs}. or Ad-minist^{rs} shall in no wise intermeddle or make any Pretension, Challenge, Claim or Demand to any Part Portion or Parcel of the Estate of the said Hannah either During the Continuance of the said Marriage or at the Dissolution thereof, If it happen he survive her.

And the said Josiah Willard Doth further Covenant Grant & Agree to & with the above named Trustees, That it shall & may be lawful to & for the said Hannah, And she is hereby Granted free & full Liberty and Authority (The Coverture between her & the said Josiah Willard Notwithstanding) at any Time or Times To Make Subscribe, Seal Publish & Execute any Writing Purporting her last Will & Testament, or any Deed, Instrument or Instruments, And thereby To Give, Bequeath, Dispose, Assign & Appoint to any Person or Persons according to her own free Will & Pleasure, the Whole or any Part, Parts or Portions of her Money, Plate, Stock, Goods, Chattels & Estate referred as afore said, in as full, large & ample Manner, as she might or could do, If she were then a Feme Sole & unmarried; And such Will, Deed, Instruments or Writings by her signed & executed shall have a like Operation & Effect in Law & be pursued & performed & put in Execution by such Person or Persons as she shall think fit to nominate & appoint for that Purpose without any Lett, Denial, Obstruction or Impediment from or by the said Josiah Willard or any other Person or Persons by or under

him, by his Means, Assent or Procurement; But if it happen No such Will or Disposition to be made by the said Hannah, or None such do Appear, That then & in such case, All her Goods Chattels & Estate shall be Employed Disposed & Distributed to and among her Children & Heirs in Manner as is Provided by Law: And the said Josiah Willard Doth further Covenant, Grant & Agree That from & after the Consummation of the said Marriage & During the Continuance of the same, He will well & sufficiently provide for maintain and support the said Hannah with suitable & convenient Alimony Lodging and Apparel according to her Quality & Degree

In Witness whereof, The said Josiah Willard hath hereunto set his Hand & Seal this Ninth Day of March in the twelfth Year of his Majesties Reign, Anno Domini One Thousand Seven Hundred & twenty five, six. Sign'd Seal'd & Deliver'd

in Presence of Us

EBENEZER HOLMES

JOSIAH WILLARD [Seal]

GEDNEY CLARKE

The Rev. HENRY A. PARKER read the following paper :

BERMUDA COLONIAL CLERGY IN NEW ENGLAND.

There are but three of the early clergy, so far as is known, who exercised their office both in New England and in the Bermudas, — John Oxenbridge, William Golding, and Sampson Bond.

John Oxenbridge, who was a minister of the First Church in Boston for four years and more before his death on December 28, 1674, had been in his younger days a very important person in the Bermudas.

William Golding, who took an active part in establishing Independency in the Bermudas and was in correspondence with some of our leading men, gains entrance to Savage's Genealogical Dictionary only from his having stopped over in Boston on his way to England. He was here at the lecture November 5, 1646.

Sampson Bond, who had been long settled as a minister in the Bermudas, was here in 1682, and for a time assisted James Allen at the First Church in Boston. He was forced to resign his position "for preaching a sermon not composed by himself," and returned to the West Indies.

Nathaniel Ward, "the Simple Cobbler," was supposed by Governor

Lefroy to have been the same man as a minister of that name who was for some time in Bermuda, but in this Lefroy seems clearly to have been mistaken, since, as Mr. Dean shows, the New England Nathaniel Ward twice signed papers in England during the time the other Nathaniel Ward was very actively employed in Bermuda.¹ Although it is not unlikely that both he and the Bermuda clergyman, Nathaniel Ward, were relatives, of those who came to New England Ward of Bermuda seems to me a different sort of man, by no means the equal of our useful New England colonist.

The Puritan clergy of the island, including the three who came to us, promulgated in Bermuda a rather different sort of Puritanism from that which was allowed in Massachusetts. The Puritan schoolmaster Richard Norwood, who suffered not a little at their hands, questions concerning them:

Whether this discipline or form of religion which they would set up, be the same at all points of moment with any other reformed church whatsoever, except perhaps in Providence where it had no such success as should induce us to embrace it. If they say Yes! in New England! we are very doubtful of that.²

His doubt was more than justified.

When we think of the so-called New England Theocracy and the power of the clergy here, we are perhaps disposed to overlook or underestimate the careful oversight which the magistrates exercised and the vigor with which they suppressed any action which seemed to them excessive or dangerous on the part of the clergy. Of course, the suppression of the so-called Antinomians is the most noted instance of this, but that action does not stand alone, the clergy understood that the magistrates were the masters. The iron hand was usually

¹ Lefroy, *Memorials of the Bermudas or Somers Islands*, i. 710. Governor Lefroy considers Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich, New England, and him of Bermuda the same; but on p. 545 he says, whether they are the same individual or not "the Editor has not ascertained. N. Ward can be traced in Bermuda from 1627 to October 1631." At vol. ii. p. xv of the same work the title-page of Nathaniel Ward's sermon preached before the House of Commons on June 30, 1647, is given, with a parenthesis for explanation, thus: "By Nathaniel Ward, minister of God's word (long a minister in Bermuda)." The words in parenthesis are not a part of the title, and the assertion is clearly a mistake.

² *Ibid.* i. 583.

gloved, but Dunster and Whiting and many another had on occasion personal experience of its weight and strength. Only once did the magistrates get the worst of it in a contest with the clergy. Skelton and Higginson at the very first, with the aid of Governor Endicott, so arranged matters that they were able to "rush" Winthrop and the new comers on their arrival; and taking them by surprise enforced on them a system of church organization which they had not intended to set up and that afterwards made trouble which the more politic men of affairs might otherwise have avoided. There was no choice for Winthrop and Dudley on their arrival but submission, or a violent and disastrous quarrel. They had to decide at once, and they accepted what had been done, but saw to it that the preachers should never get out of hand again, and only once — when the inexperienced Vane was chief magistrate — was their government ever seriously threatened.

John Oxenbridge, for us the most important of the Bermuda clergy, came into notice in England in the winter of 1633 or in the following spring, he then being a tutor at Magdalen College, Oxford, when he was twenty-six years old.¹ He took his bachelor's degree at Lincoln College in 1624 and had been for some years tutor at Magdalen, when it was discovered that he was binding to himself certain of his pupils (I have seen no statement of the number) by a "Sacramentum Academicum or oath of obedience." The oath itself does not seem to have been printed, but the general purport is said to be that —

It promises obedience to his government in hair and clothes, studies, performance of religious duties, company and recreations. It extended also to unveiling [confessing] to Oxenbridge at times of reading and private

¹ Savage says born in 1606. Foster (*Alumni Oxonienses*) says born 30 Jan., 1608; matric. 20 June, 1623, aged 18; M. A. 17 April, 1627. The editor of Laud's Works (v. 98) says that he took the degree of M. A. at Magdalen College June 18, 1631. Hotten's *Original Lists* (p. 87) gives his age in June, 1635, as 24 years. There is a very good account of Mr. Oxenbridge and his family, which I had not seen until after this article was in type, in the *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (xii. 203-220); where may be found his will, printed at length, and the epitaph of his first wife, whose influence over him was very great. I think the writer has somewhat misunderstood the matter of the *sacramentum academicum* and Laud's connection with it. See also p. 121 notes 3 and 4, above, and p. 173 note 4, below.

conference, and telling him what the vower knew of his fellow-pupils.¹

Oxenbridge admitted to Vice-Chancellor Duppa that it was his own composition, without advice, and stated (April 27) that he "first used it about the holidays of Christmas last," said that he had "long ago [!] resolved to suppress it," and pleaded that —

By the principal of the house wherein he is a commoner he has been sharply upbraided with indiscretion in this matter, and the copies of the *Sacramentum* which he had by him were burned before his face, a punishment which he would have thought proportionable to a young man's error so soon seen and stopped.²

So, however, did not the authorities think, and "the sentence" (May 27, 1634) "for distutoring of Mr. Oxenbridge," runs as follows:

Whereas John Oxenbridge . . . both by the testimony of witnesses upon oath examined, and, by his own confession, hath been found guilty of a strange, singular and superstitious way of dealing with his scholars, by persuading and causing some of them to subscribe as votaries to several articles framed by himself . . . These are to signify that I Bryan Duppa, Vice-chancellor of the university for the time being, duly weighing the quality of the fact and the ill consequences which might follow upon the insnaring of young and tender consciences with the religion of a vow, do order and decree that the said John Oxenbridge shall no longer be trusted with the tuition of any scholars, or suffered to read to them publicly or privately, or to receive any stipend or salary in that behalf.³

That sort of thing would have been as summarily suppressed in Massachusetts then as it would now, but a like sort of enforced auricular confession and personal obedience was not unknown among Puritans elsewhere, nor did this severe experience cure Oxenbridge of the disposition to exalt his personal authority as a clergyman to a degree that seems to us and seemed to our ancestors intolerable.

Mr. Savage says that Oxenbridge went to Bermuda that same year, but this is doubtless a mistake, though where and how he spent the

¹ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1633-1634, p. 563.

² Ibid. p. 571.

³ History of Laud's Chancellorship of Oxford, Laud's Works, v. 98.

next year does not appear, but his name is found in the list of the passengers "to be transported to the Bormoodes or Somer-Islands, imbarqued in the *Truelove* de London," June 10, 1635, who "being examined by the Minister of Gravesend concerning their conformitie to the orders & discipline of the Church of England as it now stands established: and tooke the oath of Allegiance."¹ One wonders sometimes about that Gravesend minister.

There are almost no records remaining for the earlier years of Mr. Oxenbridge's ministry in Bermuda. The first record of him, some eighteen months after he left England, is of "his purchase of a female negro slave called Lucra, aged 18, . . . of Hugh Wentworth, for 12*l.* sterling, and for a term of fourscore and nineteen years."² Her term of servitude, though not perpetual, would seem to have extended into the other world. Governor Lefroy's account of Oxenbridge is derived chiefly from the correspondence of Richard Norwood in the Record Office, London, and from William Prynne's second edition of *A Fresh Discovery of some Prodigious New Wandering Blasing Stars and Firebrands styleing themselves New Lights*, — Mr. Oxenbridge being one of the very bright wandering and blazing stars referred to. The Governor summarizes the matter thus:

His pledge of conformity to the order and discipline of the Church of England was broken very soon after his arrival in Bermuda, and he was one of the four ministers who left no stone unturned to set up the new order and new discipline, administered by themselves alone, which soon convulsed the little community. Richard Beake³ refers to him, and his wife especially, as "the first groundwork of this faction," which was afterwards headed by Nathaniell White. He [Oxenbridge] returned to England about 1641 . . . to agitate and influence Parliament; thence he sent out the catechism called "Baby Milk," which was at first instilled into youth alone, one day in the week for two hours at noon . . . , but soon afterwards was forced with great vehemency . . . upon grown men and women, with a degree of spiritual arrogance which to the milder temper of our times is hardly conceivable.⁴

¹ Hotten, *Original Lists*, pp. 85, 87.

² Lefroy, *Memorials of the Bermudas*, i. 706.

³ He was the other or another schoolmaster who was, it would seem, a real Church of England man and whose imprisonment and other sufferings make him write more violently if not more strongly than Norwood.

⁴ *Memorials of the Bermudas*, i. 706, 707.

Just when William Golding or Goulding went to Bermuda does not appear, and nothing seems to be known of him before. He had been appointed to his cure in Bermuda probably early in 1638, which was long before the establishment of Independency there; which came about thus. On January 31, 1643-44, Mr. Oxenbridge not being present, —

Master Nathaniel White, Master Patrick Copeland, and Master William Golding did . . . at a fast day by them ordained and not commanded by any authority to be held, in the Pagetts Tribe,¹ in the Summer Islands in the afternoon of the said day draw themselves together in the body of the said Church and did then and there publicly manifest and declare, that they . . . did lay down renounce and relinquish their Office of Ministry in the Church of England, acknowledging themselves to be but private men, yet so as they held themselves to be a church of themselves, and to that end had entered into a covenant among themselves and would be ready to receive into their covenant such as would submit thereunto.²

Though Mr. Oxenbridge was not present on this occasion, he had been very active in the things leading to it. There had been a series of conflicts between civil and ecclesiastical authority, some of them very queer. For example, it was testified so early as 1628 that a parson, one Grimes,³ threatened to refuse to preach to his congregation if the governor prevented him from having a vestry. One does not know whether to call this a threat of strike or interdict,— it was not the only time a like threat was made there. And there were times when the clergy not only sat as members of the Council,⁴ but seized on all sorts of power.

The schoolmaster Norwood, writing to the Governor and Company February 28, 1641-42, says:

Foure yeares past when I came hither, the times were dangerous in England, by reason of the many innovations in Religion brought in by the Bishops (the Lord be blessed for that happy reformation w^{ch} we heare and hope of) and at that time I was in danger my selfe to have

¹ Tribe in Bermuda is equivalent to township elsewhere.

² Memorials of the Bermudas, i. 585.

³ Otherwise Graeme, or Grames, the Rev. Alexander. Ibid. i. 663, 704.

⁴ For an instance somewhat earlier (1616), see *ibid.* i. 107.

bene called in question, w^{ch} occasioned me to move the hono^{ble} Company for this place.¹

He complains that Governor Sayle has been "wholy guided" by the ministers, —

and executed what they have thought fittest. Whereby we have seene an experimen^t here of . . . the superiority or government of Ministers or an assembly of Ministers, esteeming the government to be theys who have the mayne sway in it. But wth what loftines, violence and severity (to say no more) and in what an arbitrary way they have proceeded, I suppose you will hear by the complaints of diverse.²

He says that of late they had compelled all persons, men and women, throughout the island to present themselves and be catechised one day in each week. Against their right to do this he, Mr. Norwood, had protested to the others severally in person, but had written to "Mr. Oxenbridge (the most eminent of them all)," and some correspondence followed which seems in my judgment to have been conducted on Mr. Norwood's part with courtesy and good sense: but as a result the Governor sent the sheriff to summon the schoolmaster, as he says, "to make myne appearance at the house of Mr. Oxenbridge or Mr. Painter, and the day after the fast to answer such things [as] by the ministers should be objected against me . . . intending it as (as was conceived) a kind of synod."³ Norwood refused to go, and appealed to the general assizes. This appeal the Governor allowed, to the great displeasure of the ministers. He goes on to tell of a man and wife "a very christian man and woman indeed . . . who disliking this new forme of catechising went to their Minister M^r Golding privately, intreating him that they might be spared from that his weekly exercise. . . . Whereat M^r Golding was much displeased,"⁴ and had them boycotted. Matters went from bad to worse and Norwood threatened in the pulpit and out of it appealed to the new Governor for protection. According to him, writing in March, 1642-43: "Some say our Ministers are as supreme heads under Christ of their severall churches here, and not subordinate in these days Ecclesiastical to Parliament or any other power on earth whatsoever,"⁵ and he goes on to ask the

¹ Memorials of the Bermudas, i. 569.

² Ibid. i. 570.

³ Ibid. i. 571.

⁴ Ibid. i. 573, 574.

⁵ Ibid. i. 581.

minister thirty questions. One is "Whether they mean to continue that Lordly or Masterly practice of Universal catechising . . . and that all shall be tied to answer according to that Catechism of Mr Oxenbridges called Baby Milk, or some other."¹ Another is "Whether the minister and his officers will govern and censure the rest according to some laws, or in an Arbitrary way?"²

The next year, as we have seen, White, Golding, and Copeland, who had been theoretically more or less "conformable ministers of the church of England," renounced their orders and established Independency. Golding, who was here on his way to England in 1646, returned to Bermuda to take part in the quarrels which became more and more confused and uninteresting. The four ministers divided two against two, taking sides for Independency and Presbyterianism. Our friend the schoolmaster Norwood at last joined the Independent party as being the less tyrannical.

Golding died in 1648; Oxenbridge, having been long in England, in 1651 sold off his land and slaves in Bermuda; in 1653 he became a member of the Bermuda Company, and Governor of the Company in 1655. In England he was settled at Beverley; became a fellow of Eton College; at the Restoration lost his fellowship³ and retired to Berwick-upon-Tweed. Being silenced by the Act of Uniformity he went to Surinam, and was there when the English were driven out by the Dutch and the Dutch in turn by the English. Then he returned to the West Indies and after a two years' stay at Barbados came to Boston, Massachusetts, where he seems to have given way to none of the eccentricities of his earlier years. If he had we should know it, nor would he have remained with us.⁴

Mr. Bond, the last of the three clericals from Bermuda, did not arrive in the island until Golding had been long dead and Oxenbridge still longer gone. He went there January 12, 1662-63. Governor Lefroy says: "This turbulent minister fills a considerable space in the records." Before that little seems to be known of him. We learn

¹ Memorials of the Bermudas, i. 583.

² Ibid. i. 584.

³ David Stokes, who had been removed by the Puritans, being restored.

⁴ Mr. Oxenbridge's first wife, Jane Butler, was with him in Bermuda. She was a masterful woman, and in England is reported to have had much to do with her husband's ecclesiastical activities. She died April 25, 1658. See also p. 168 note, above.

that "hee had bin active for the king against the Parliament in 1642." ¹ Savage says he was an ejected minister from County Cumberland at the Restoration. To judge from what came after, his former life cannot have been a quiet one, but it may not on that account have been interesting. The part about which our information is abundant is chiefly filled with uninteresting broils. Governor Lefroy says "there are baptisms by him in Pembroke parish register from March 1, 1663, to October 6, 1666, and again at intervals from 1679 to 1690. Complaints against him are perpetual." ² Between these dates he was here in Boston and about 1670 he was in Barbados, threatening to go to England and negotiating for a cure in New York. The Governor and Council of Bermuda wrote home about him, saying amongst other unpleasant things that they forwarded certain copies of the records —

that thereby y^r honors may the better know him, and not giue credit to any of his language against vs or Mr Smith [another clergyman] till wee are heard to speak for ourselues If Mr Sampson Bond the p^{son} that said the Booke of Comon Prayer was a Mass Booke, or a company of packt praiers made vp by the pope and the words Godfather and Godmother be blasphemy or words to that effect [be heard] What condition shall yr servants here liue vnder if such practices are suffered vnder y^r Gouvernm^t.³

Bond was, however, a good deal of a lawyer and contrived to get back to the scene of his activities in the island and there to be a source of annoyance to the authorities. Indeed, the ease and despatch with which the Massachusetts people got rid of him is in amusing contrast with the difficulty the West Indian authorities found in controlling his pernicious activities.

On behalf of Mr. FRANCIS H. LEE, Mr. EDES communicated an Indenture of apprenticeship of James Taylor of Lynn and Boston, who was Treasurer of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay from 1693 to 1714.⁴ Mr. EDES spoke as follows:

¹ Memorials of the Bermudas, i. 692.

² Ibid. i. 694.

³ Whitmore, *Massachusetts Civil List*, p. 45. See *Massachusetts Province Laws*, vii. 24, 54. This was not his first public service. After the overthrow of Andros, Taylor was chosen one of the Representatives from Boston to join in a

Some extracts from this Indenture were made by the editors of Sewall's Diary in an elaborate note (III. 95-97), but as a mistake was made in the transcription of one of the dates, as it reveals the name and English residence of Taylor's father, and as it preserves a part of his family record not found elsewhere, it has seemed well to print this valuable document entire. It is written on parchment $9\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size, and is in a good state of preservation, although the ink with which the vital records were subsequently made has faded badly in some places.

Sewall's editors were in ignorance of the maiden names of Taylor's two wives. Taylor's second wife was Rebecca Clarke, a daughter of Captain Christopher Clarke of Boston, merchant, who was admitted a freeman in 1673, and frequently voyaged between England and New England.¹ She was born in Boston 4 May, 1657,² and bore the given name of her mother, who was admitted to the Church in Boston 25 December, 1647.³ Captain Clarke died intestate. In the agreement of his heirs as to the settlement of his estate, dated 7 November, 1693, it is stated that he "dece^d on or about the Tenth day of February now last past at Boston." Among the heirs enumerated are "James Tailer of Boston afores^d Merchant and Rebecca his wife one other of the Daughters of the s^d Christopher Clarke dece^d." ⁴

While the search for the maiden name of Taylor's first wife, Elizabeth, has not been successful, some new facts have been recently found which may lead to its discovery. In the will of James Taylor, his eldest and only son by his first wife, Captain Christopher Taylor,

convention with the Council of Safety at Boston on the ninth of May, 1689, for consultation in regard to the adoption of a form of government (General Court Records, vi. 15, 25). After the arrival of the Province Charter, he again represented Boston in the lower House at the session which began 31 May, 1693 (Massachusetts Province Laws, vii. 20). He may have been identical with the James Tailer, as the name was frequently spelled, who was Commissioner of Impost and Excise from 17 June, 1696, till 18 June, 1697 (Whitmore, Massachusetts Civil List, p. 125). Taylor died in Lynn 29 July, 1716, and was buried in Boston on the second of August (Sewall's Diary, iii. 94, 95).

¹ Savage, Genealogical Dictionary of New England, i. 392.

² Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ix. 59, 63. She was buried in Boston 23 July, 1718, æ. 60 (Sewall's Diary, iii. 190).

³ Records of the First Church in Boston.

⁴ Suffolk Probate Files, no. 2005. The estate was administered by Stephen Minot, who had married Capt. Clarke's youngest daughter Mary (or Mercy).

mariner, was cut off with a legacy of £50.¹ He appears to have been the black sheep of the family and to have deserved ill at the hands of his father. Nevertheless, he appealed from the probate of the will in Essex to the Governor and Council, and prolonged litigation ensued, no less than three Private Acts of the General Court having been passed in the interest of the litigants.² Captain Christopher Taylor's will was made 18 March, 1732, and proved 25 June, 1734. He mentions his younger half-brother William,³ four of his sisters, his natural son Charles Taylor, and his servant Anne Bell, the mother of his child. He also names his "loving cozens Benjamin Landon, merchant, and John Procter, schoolmaster," executors.⁴

Benjamin Landon of Boston, shopkeeper, made his will 21 October, 1731, and it was proved 17 January, 1746-47. It contains a bequest to his minister, the Rev. Elisha Callender, who was directed to pay out of it £10 "to my kinsman John Procter, son of John Procter, schoolmaster."⁵ Landon was born in Boston 18 December, 1693, the son of David and Martha Landon,⁶ and died 8 January, 1746-47, in his fifty-third year.⁷ His wife, Rebecca Gridley, whom he married in Boston 28 April, 1719,⁸ died shortly after her husband, 23 January, 1746-47.⁹

John Procter, variously styled schoolmaster, minister, and gentle-

¹ Essex Probate Files, no. 27,301. See also Rebecca Taylor's estate, *ibid.* no. 27,315; Rebecca Kelsoll's (sometimes Kelsey's) will, *ibid.* no. 15,297; Essex Deeds, xlv. 152; Sewall's Diary, iii. 94, 95.

² Massachusetts Province Laws, vi. 108, 119, 123, and side notes. See also *ibid.* ii. 195 note.

³ William Taylor died 23 January, 1769, æ. 72 (Lynn Vital Records, ii. 602). See Essex Probate Files, no. 27,320. He married Sarah Burrill of Lynn, their intentions having been recorded 29 May, 1726, by whom he had two daughters one of whom, Rebecca, born 5 June, 1727, married her second cousin Timothy Orne of Salem, 20 June, 1747, and became the ancestor of our associate Mr. Francis H. Lee (Lynn Vital Records, i. 395, ii. 285, 368, 369).

⁴ Both declined service and William Taylor, the testator's half-brother, administered the estate (Suffolk Probate Files, no. 6603). See Massachusetts Archives, li. 283; 1 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xiii. 410, 414, 416.

⁵ Suffolk Probate Files, no. 8656.

⁶ Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ix. 207.

⁷ Rev. Jeremiah Condy's Funeral Sermon, New England Historical and Genealogical Register, ix. 175. This sermon was called to my attention by Mr. William P. Greenlaw. See *ibid.* xxxii. 423.

⁸ Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxviii. 83.

⁹ Rev. Jeremiah Condy's Funeral Sermon on her husband.

man,¹ was born in Boston 29 December, 1703, the son of Richard and Rachel Procter.² His father was in Boston as early as 1690 when he was admitted a freeman, and died 1 February, 1719-20,³ leaving a good estate including a brick house and land in Queen Street valued at £500, which was his homestead.⁴ John Procter married (1) Lydia, daughter of John Richards the younger of New London, Connecticut, by whom he had the son John, born in Boston 31 December, 1726,⁵ who, as we have seen, was mentioned in Benjamin Landon's will as "my kinsman;" and (2) Lucretia, youngest daughter of John and Mary (Fosdick) Arnold of Boston and New London, who survived him.⁶ The Boston Town Records under date of 8 March, 1730-31, state that the Selectmen reported —

That they haue Indeavored to find a meet person for the Said [North Writing] School and Return m^r John Procter as a meet Person for that place.

Voted the Said Report accepted And that the Selectmen Intraduce him into the Said place Accordingly.⁷

Procter was one of Prince's subscribers. He also appears to have been an active and uncomfortable member of the First Baptist Church

¹ New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xi. 27, 28; Suffolk Probate Files, no. 11,430. This family appears to have spelled its name Procter and not Proctor.

² Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxiv. 23.

³ Boston Town Records, — Old Sexton's bill.

⁴ Suffolk Probate Files, no. 4273; Suffolk Deeds, xxxviii. 224. This house stood on a part of the site of the Adams Building, between the Ames Building and Franklin Avenue. In 1714 Richard Procter dwelt in Cornhill (now Washington Street), on the westerly side, between Queen (now Court) Street and the present thoroughfare known as Cornhill. This estate ran through to the passageway now called Franklin Avenue (*ibid.* xxix. 252, xxx. 199).

⁵ Caulkins, *History of New London* (1852), p. 318, 367; Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxiv. 177. See Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxx. 20, 422.

⁶ Mrs. Procter's gravestone at New London is inscribed: "In memory of M^{rs} Lucretia widow of M^r John Procter M.A. who died Sept. 10th 1770 in y^e 64th year of her age" (*New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xi. 27, 28). If Procter ever received an academic degree, the name of the college or university conferring it has not been discovered. See Caulkins, *History of New London*, p. 318.

⁷ Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xii. 21. See Publications of this Society, x. 257 note.

in Boston during the pastorate of the Rev. Elisha Callender, in whose flock were also numbered Richard Procter and Benjamin Landon.¹ In 1743 John Procter was admonished and suspended from communion with the church, whereupon he organized a new society, which met at his schoolhouse in Scollay Square and became the Second Baptist Church.² His death is thus announced in the Boston Weekly News-Letter of Thursday, 27 January, 1757:

Last Thursday Morning died here, just entered in the 54th Year of his Age, Mr. John Procter, formerly Master of a public Writing School in this Town (p. 3/2).³

His will⁴ mentions, besides his mansion house and land in Back (now Salem) Street, his house and land next to Mr. Waldo in Queen Street. This he purchased, in 1734, from William Payne,⁵ whose first wife was Mary Taylor, eldest surviving daughter of James Taylor and only sister of the full blood of Captain Christopher Taylor. It is worthy of note that the Waldo estate was long owned by James Taylor, who bought it of Bozoun Allen in 1705, when in the tenure of Paul Dudley.⁶ It had a frontage of 106 feet on Queen (now Court) Street and to-day makes the northerly corner of Brattle Street. Taylor's heirs sold it for £1,050 in 1723 to Jonathan Waldo, who in 1728 gave it to his son Samuel Waldo.⁷

It thus appears that Christopher Taylor, Benjamin Landon, and John Procter were closely related; that the Taylors and Procters owned adjoining estates in Queen Street; that the Landons and Procters were members of the First Baptist Church; and that diligent inquiry has thus far failed to discover the maiden name of the mother

¹ Records of the First Baptist Church, *passim*; Nathan E. Wood, History of the First Baptist Church of Boston, pp. 201, 204, 208, 209, 234.

² In March, 1746, the Society met in their new meeting-house in Baldwin Place. It is now known as the Warren Avenue Baptist Church (*ibid.* p. 241). Concerning the schoolhouse, see Publications of this Society, x. 257 note.

³ I am indebted to our associate Mr. Julius H. Tuttle for this important item.

⁴ After Procter's death, a dispute arose between his widow and executrix and the Baptist Church officials over his accounts with them. A commission appointed to adjust the dispute awarded in favor of the Church officials, 12 October, 1758 (Suffolk Probate Files, no. 11,430).

⁵ Suffolk Deeds, xlix. 141.

⁶ *Ibid.* xxii. 451.

⁷ *Ibid.* xxxiii. 235 (two instruments); xxxvii. 79, 80; xlii. 181.

of either of these three cousins. To have been cousins, according to the present use of the word, implies a common grandparent; and as all the brothers and sisters of Christopher Taylor, of the half blood as well as of the full blood, and their children are fully accounted for in various legal proceedings involving inheritance, it seems impossible that he could have used the term in the sense of nephew or niece, a practice not uncommon in the eighteenth century. Later investigations may reveal the maiden name of Christopher Taylor's mother. The present search was undertaken in the hope of adding something to the little that is known about the family of the Province Treasurer, who appears to have been an estimable, enterprising, and successful private citizen, and a faithful public servant for a quarter of a century.

The text of the Indenture follows.

This Indenture Witnesseth That James Taylor son of Christopher Taylor Citizen and Leatherseller of London hath put himselfe Appntice unto John Cole of Ratcliffe in the County of Midd Mariner to learne the arte of Navigation which he the said John Cole now useth and with him after the manner of an Appntice to dwell and serve from the Twenty flowerth day of June last past before the date of this p'sent Indenture unto the end and terme of Six yeares from thence next ensueing and fully to be compleat and ended dureing which terme the said Appntice his said Ma^r: well and faithfully shall serve, his secretts keepe, his comande-^m^t lawfull and honest every where gladly shall doe,—Hurt or damage to his said Ma^r: he shall not doe, nor of others know to be done, but he to his power shall lett it or forthwith give his said Ma^r: knowledge thereof, the goods of his said Ma^r: he shall not inordinately waste nor them to any unlawfully lend, fornication he shall not comitt. matrimony he shall not Contract, at Cards dice or any other unlawfull games whereby his said Ma^r: may receive any loss he shall not play, Taverns or Alehouses of custome he shall not frequent with his owne goods or any others dureing the said Terme without the Consent of his said Ma^r: he shall neither buy nor sell But in all things as a good and faithfull Appntice ought to doe shall gently use and behave himselfe towards his said Mea^r: and all his during the said terme ~~And~~ the said John Cole the said James Taylor his Appntice in the Arte aforesaid which he the said John Cole now useth after the best manner he can or doth know shall teach and instruct or cause to be taught or instructed ffindeing provideing and alloweing unto and for the said Appntice Competent and sufficient meat drinke washing and Lodgeing meet and decent for an Appntice of the same Arte dureing

the said terme ~~And~~ to the performancē of all and singular the Cove-
nants and agreements aforesaid Either of the said parties bindeth him-
selfe to the other firmly by theis pñts ~~In witness~~ where of the parties
aforesaid to theis p'sent Indenture interchangeably have put their hands
and seales Dated the Eleaventh day of July Anno Dñi 1664 And in the
Sixteenth yeare of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lord Charles (the Second)
by the grace of God king of England Scotland frannce and Ireland de-
fendor: of the faith &c

JAMES TAYLOR¹

[Reverse]

Scaled & delieūd

in y^e pnce of

DUDLEY SHORT

Jn^o HOUGHTON ser^t

JOHN AUSTIN his serv^t

1673

Aprill 1647

age 26

1673

August 1653

age 20

married y^e 28

on a Thursday

January 1673

Janu'y 28

1673

1673

1655

Elizabeth Taylor age 18

my daughter died the

24th October 1674 in y^e

morning at 9 o'Clock

My Daughter Mary Taylor

was

Borne the 25th of January

1675

My son Christopher Taylor

was Borne y^e 16th Decemb^r

1677

I was married to my second wife

Rebecca y^e 26th Januarie 1679

being a Munday

¹ As the parchment has, between the given name and surname of the signature, three slits for the insertion of a ribbon, a seal was probably pendant.

My Daughter Rebecca
 Taylor was Borne y^e 18th
 October 1681 born ye Tuesday
 at $\frac{1}{2}$ hour past 3 in ye after
 noone
 My son James Taylor was
 Borne y^e 31st Decemb^r 1683
 about 5 or 6 in y^e morning

My Daught^r Elizabeth Taylor was
 on wensday Borne y^e 16th Decemb^r 1685 about
 10: in the morning & ¹

My Son Samuel Taylor was Borne y^e 5th Decemb^r
 1687 at about 7. of y^e Clock in y^e morning on a munday ²

¹ This entry and the next entry are on the face of the parchment.

² The Boston Town Records preserve the dates of birth of the following named children of James Taylor which do not appear on the parchment: by wife Elisabeth, Elisabeth, 24 October, 1674; and by wife Rebecca, Abigail, 2 August, 1690; Ann, 13 November, 1692; Sarah, 19 May, 1695; William, 19 June, 1696; Mercy, 13 November, 1700, and Mary, 15 July, 1702 (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ix. 134, 191, 202, 224, 228, xxiv. 5, 17). The daughter Mary, born of James Taylor's first wife, Elisabeth, 25 January, 1675, had married William Payne, 11 October, 1694 (ibid. ix. 218) and died in childbed, 6 January, 1700-01, before the birth of Taylor's youngest daughter of the same name by his second wife, Rebecca, 15 July, 1702 (1 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xiii. 410). Cf. Suffolk Deeds, xxxvii. 79, 80.

ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1905

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the **Journal of Colonial Society of America** was held at No. 217 Cornhill, Boston, on Saturday, November 19, 18, 1905, at 10 o'clock, A. M., when the following officers were elected:

The **Board of Officers** for the year 1906 were re-elected as follows:

The President, *John A. M. Smith*, of Boston.

The Vice-President, *John A. M. Smith*, of Boston, and *John A. M. Smith*, of Boston.

The Secretary, *John A. M. Smith*, of Boston, and *John A. M. Smith*, of Boston.

The Treasurer, *John A. M. Smith*, of Boston, and *John A. M. Smith*, of Boston.

The Executive Committee, *John A. M. Smith*, of Boston, and *John A. M. Smith*, of Boston.



My dear Cleveland

ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1908

THE ANNUAL MEETING was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Saturday, 21 November, 1908, at six o'clock in the afternoon, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The PRESIDENT spoke as follows:

There have been removed by death from our rolls since the last meeting three members:

ANDREW CUNNINGHAM WHEELWRIGHT, a Resident Member since 1896, a man of large public interests, gracious and generous in his sympathy and his philanthropy.

GROVER CLEVELAND, the twenty-second President of the United States, and the most distinguished of our Honorary Members. He brought into public life a lofty rectitude of purpose and an unflinching devotion to the public welfare. He represented the highest type of public service. His influence gained with his increasing years, and History will accord to him a large and honorable place.

DANIEL COIT GILMAN, elected a Corresponding Member in 1899, Professor in Yale University, President of the University of California, organizer and first President of Johns Hopkins University, first President of the Carnegie Institution: There have been few educators who have made so deep an impression upon the academic policies and methods of this country. He introduced the best elements of the German university and adapted them to our educational needs. Author, editor, publicist, director of philanthropic and educational agencies, his long life was filled to the end with useful and serviceable activities.



Gran Cleveland

*Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from the original by Milton Lockwood*

The Annual Report of the Council was presented and read by the **PRESIDENT**.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

Since the last annual meeting, the Society has held the usual five monthly meetings at which interesting and valuable papers have been communicated. We continue to be indebted to the American Unitarian Association for its generous hospitality in furnishing us accommodations for our meetings. The average attendance has been as large, if not somewhat larger, than in the preceding years. Suggestions have been made to the Council that a later hour in the afternoon, or possibly an evening hour, would meet the convenience of a larger number of members, and the Council has directed that a communication be sent to the resident members with a view to ascertaining their preferences with respect to this subject.

During the year the Society has lost through death two Resident Members, —

STANLEY CUNNINGHAM,
ANDREW CUNNINGHAM WHEELWRIGHT;

one Honorary Member, —

GROVER CLEVELAND;

and two Corresponding Members, —

JOHN CHANDLER BANCROFT DAVIS,
DANIEL COIT GILMAN.

There have been elected three Resident Members, —

WILLIAM WALLACE FENN,
JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE,
CHARLES EDWARDS PARK;

one Honorary Member, —

ANDREW DICKSON WHITE;

and three Corresponding Members, —

FRANCIS PHILIP NASH,
JAMES KENDALL HOSMER,
FRANK WARREN HACKETT.

There are at present five vacancies in the resident membership for which nominations will be duly presented by the Council. Mr. JOHN ELIOT THAYER, who was elected at the last annual meeting a member of the Council for two years, found himself unable to serve, and Mr. THOMAS MINNS was chosen by the Council in his stead.

During the year, Volume X of the Publications, containing the Transactions at the meetings from December, 1904, through November, 1906, has been published and distributed. Another volume of the Transactions (Volume XI), extending through the meeting of December, 1907, and a volume of Collections (Volume IV) have been put in type and the plates cast. These volumes will be printed and published as soon as the income of the Society warrants the expense. In addition to these volumes, there have been put in type the Transactions through the meeting of April, 1908 (Volume XII), and the beginning of the volume devoted to the Harvard College Records. To cover the cost of the latter volume, the Society is indebted to a generous donation from our associate, Mr. FREDERICK LEWIS GAY.

The income from our General Fund and our Publication Fund is enough to enable us to publish our Transactions, but not enough to permit the publication of such Collections as are very much needed by students of colonial history and which we hope it is to be our privilege, as it surely is our duty, to make available. In view of this, the Council addressed to the Society during the year a statement of the work that had been accomplished, the rate of progress, and the tasks that it seemed desirable to undertake. This appeal has met with a generous response from several of our members. In particular, the Council desires to record its appreciation of the gift of two thousand dollars from Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, to whose generous and loyal support from the beginning the Society has been deeply indebted.

The subscriptions which for the last four years have enabled the Society to employ an Editor of Publications will be exhausted by the close of another year. The possibility as well as the success of our Publications requires a large portion of the time of such an editor, and the Council expresses the hope that gifts for this purpose may be received, and that the funds available for printing and publication may not be seriously depleted for that purpose.

The TREASURER submitted his Annual Report, as follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending 18 November, 1908.

CASH ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

Balance, 18 November, 1907		\$916.94
Admission Fees	\$30.00	
Annual Assessments	650.00	
Commutation of the Annual Assessment	100.00	
Sales of the Society's Publications	229.87	
Sales of the Society's paper	60.86	
Interest	2,699.75	
Contributions from two members	130.00	
Editor's Salary Fund, subscriptions	750.00	
Publication Fund, gifts	650.00	
Temporary Loans, without interest:		
Henry H. Edes	\$1,000.00	
Andrew McFarland Davis	500.00	
Henry W. Cunningham	500.00	2,000.00
Mortgages, discharged or assigned	5,700.00	
Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank, amount withdrawn for investment	700.00	13,700.48
		<u>\$14,617.42</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

University Press, printing, binding, etc.	\$3,288.27
A. W. Elson & Co., photogravure plates	85.00
Mary H. Rollins, indexing Vols. IV and XI	200.00
Boston Suburban Express and Parcel Co., distributing Vol. IX	32.75
Phillips's Back Bay Express, distributing Vol. X	31.75
Ewing W. Hamlen, stenography and typewriting	28.20
Caroline B. Shaw, stenography	6.00
Library Bureau, index cards	6.00
Clerk hire	62.40
Albert Matthews: salary as Editor of Publications	1,000.00
Carnegie Institution, subscription for 1907 toward Bib- liography of American Historical Writings	50.00
Hill, Smith & Co., making record books	16.00
Boston Storage Warehouse Co.	24.00
Carried forward	<u>\$4,830.37</u>

<i>Brought forward</i>	\$4,830.37	
William H. Hart, auditing	5.00	
Miscellaneous Incidentals	534.53	
Temporary Loans, without interest, repaid to:		
Henry H. Edes	\$1,000.00	
Andrew McFarland Davis	500.00	
Henry W. Cunningham	500.00	2,000.00
Deposited in Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank	501.78	
Mortgages on improved real estate in Boston	6,700.00	
Interest in adjustment	21.47	14,593.15
Balance on deposit in State Street Trust Company, 18 November, 1908		24.27
		<u>\$14,617.42</u>

The Funds of the Society are invested as follows:

\$52,500.00 in First Mortgages, payable in gold coin, on improved property in
Boston, Cambridge, and Brookline.
5.00 deposited in Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank.

\$52,505.00

TRIAL BALANCE

DEBITS		
Cash		24.27
Mortgages	\$52,500.00	
Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank	5.00	52,505.00
		<u>\$52,529.27</u>
CREDITS		
Income		\$24.27
Editor's Salary Fund	\$1,250.00	
Publication Fund	3,350.00	
General Fund	7,905.00	
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund	10,000.00	
Edward Wheelwright Fund	10,000.00	
Robert Charles Billings Fund	10,000.00	
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund	5,000.00	
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr. Fund	3,000.00	
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund	2,000.00	52,505.00
		<u>\$52,529.27</u>

HENRY H. EDES,
Treasurer.

Boston, 18 November, 1908.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts for the year ending 18 November, 1908, have attended to that duty and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched, and that proper evidence of the investments and of the balance of cash on hand has been shown to us. This examination is based on the report of William H. Hart, Auditor.

GARDINER MARTIN LANE,
FRANCIS H. LINCOLN,

Committee.

Boston, 19 November, 1908.

The several Reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the Committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, Dr. JAMES B. AYER presented the following list of candidates; and, a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

PRESIDENT

HENRY LEFAVOUR

VICE-PRESIDENTS

WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN
MARCUS PERRIN KNOWLTON

RECORDING SECRETARY

HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

JOHN NOBLE

TREASURER

HENRY HERBERT EDES

REGISTRAR

FREDERICK LEWIS GAY

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR THREE YEARS

HENRY AINSWORTH PARKER

On the recommendation of the Council, it was —

Voted, That the Society gratefully accepts the gift of Two Thousand Dollars from Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS; that it be added to the permanent Publication Funds of the Society; and that it be forever known as the ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS FUND in grateful remembrance of one of the Founders of the Society whose loyalty and devoted service to it have been constant and conspicuous.

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were the Rev. Dr. Edward Caldwell Moore, the Hon. John Taggard Blodgett, the Hon. Henry Newton Sheldon, Dr. Charles Pickering Putnam, and Messrs. Clarence Saunders Brigham, Edward Henry Clement, Archibald Murray Howe, Charles Rockwell Lanman, Morris Hicky Morgan, Grenville Howland Norcross, William Lowell Putnam, and Barrett Wendell. The PRESIDENT presided.



Molcott Gibbs

DECEMBER MEETING, 1908

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 24 December, 1908, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

The PRESIDENT announced the death at Newport, Rhode Island, on the ninth instant, at the age of eighty-seven, of WOLCOTT GIBBS, a Corresponding Member, and spoke as follows :

Professor Gibbs graduated from Columbia University in 1841, taking his master's degree in 1844, meanwhile receiving the degree of doctor of medicine from the College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1843. After studying in Germany and France and lecturing at Delaware College, in Newark, Delaware, he became professor of Physics and Chemistry in the College of the City of New York. After a service of fourteen years in this institution, he was appointed in 1863 Rumford Professor and Lecturer on the Application of Science to the Useful Arts in Harvard College. He became Emeritus Professor in 1887. He received the doctorate of laws from Columbia University in 1873 and afterwards from four other universities.

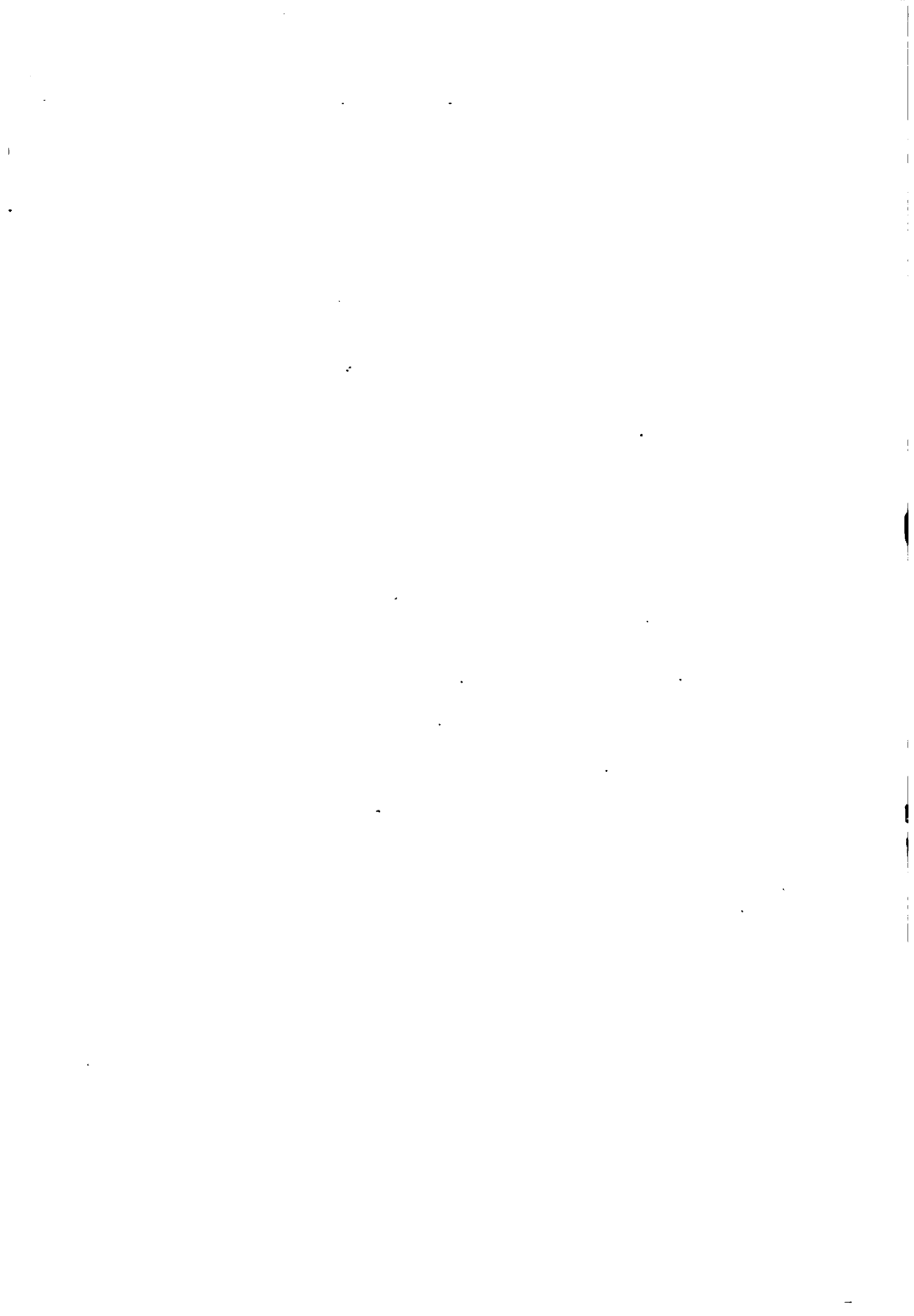
The contributions which Professor Gibbs made to physical and chemical science were of such a character and of such importance as to give to him a world-wide reputation, and to render him one of the very foremost of American men of science, and a veritable pioneer in the realm of physical chemistry. Added to his great talent as a scientific investigator, he was a rare teacher and a much beloved friend. His closing years were spent withdrawn from the activities of the academic world, but not from the hearts and memories of those who knew him.

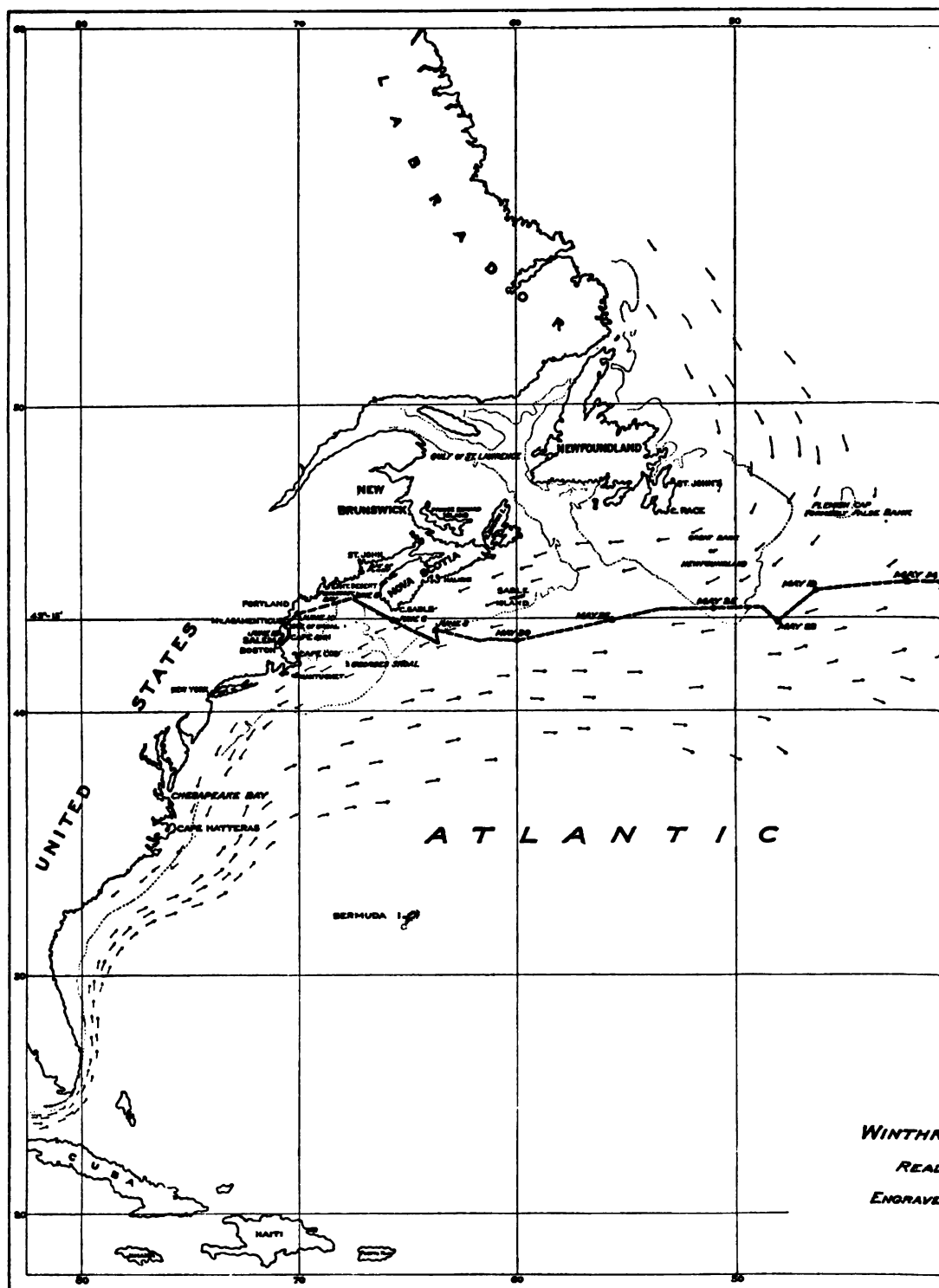
Mr. OGDEN CODMAN of Lincoln, and Mr. MORRIS HICKY MORGAN of Cambridge, were elected Resident Members; and the Hon. JOHN TAGGARD BLODGETT of Providence, Rhode Island, was elected a Corresponding Member.

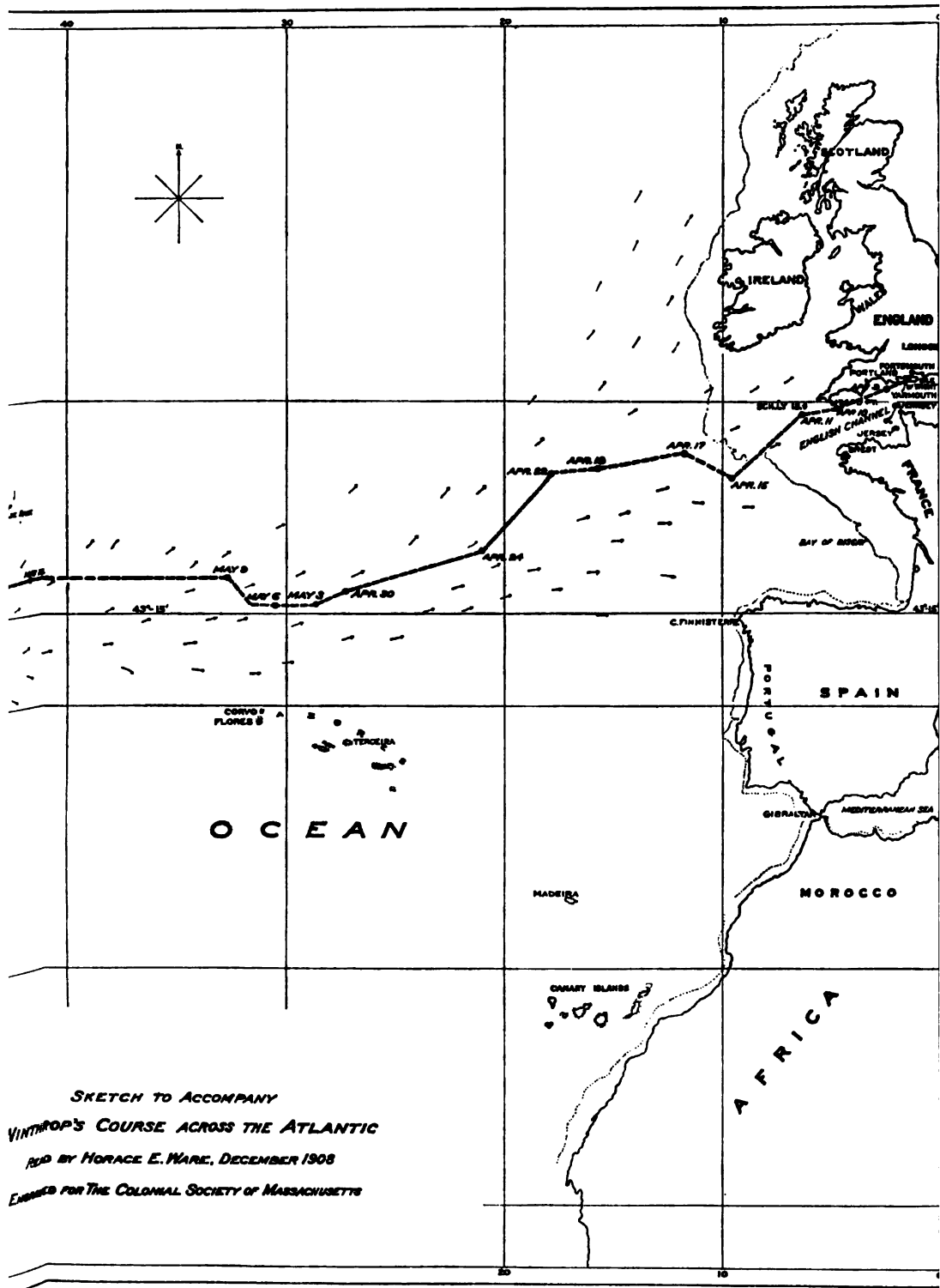
The Rev. HENRY A. PARKER gave some account, which was discussed by Mr. HENRY E. WOODS, of the sixteen quarterings of the children of Kiniard Russell of Strensham from whom Richard Russell (1611-1676) of Charlestown, long Treasurer of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, is said to have been descended through the Russells of Hereford: but said that on examination the line of descent of the Hereford Russells from the Strensham family did not seem to have been proved: that the armorial seal used by the sons of Richard Russell seemed to show that they claimed descent from the Strensham family: but that the escutcheon on the seal—a chevron between three cross crosslets fitché within a bordure charged with (bezants?) impaling a saltire charged with a (?)—seemed to have been misinterpreted. It had been supposed to be a seal cut for Richard Russell after his marriage with his second wife, whose maiden name was Nevill. The arms, except that the bordure does not seem to have been engrailed (the tinctures not being known), resemble the arms of John Russell of Little Malvern, Worcestershire, impaling the arms of Alderford, of which family he married an heiress.¹ Mr. Parker said, however, that the descent of Richard Russell from William Russell, Mayor of Hereford, seemed to be well established. From this Mr. Woods dissented, saying that the descent of Richard is not proved. On reviewing the pedigree Mr. Parker found himself obliged to agree with Mr. Woods.

Dr. JAMES B. AYER read some notes, covering the period from 1764 to 1785, concerning Harvard College taken during a recent visit to London from the records of the New England Company.

¹ Argent; a chevron between three cross-crosslets sable within a bordure engrailed gules bezantée; impaling argent on a saltire azure a dragon's (?) head, crased or.







Mr. HORACE E. WARE read the following paper :

WINTHROP'S COURSE ACROSS THE ATLANTIC.

Winthrop's fleet of four ships — namely, the *Arbella*, admiral; the *Talbot*, vice-admiral; the *Ambrose*, rear-admiral; and the *Jewel*, captain — left Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, for these shores April 8, 1630. Of these vessels the masters were, of the *Arbella*, Captain Peter Milborne; of the *Talbot*, Mr. Thomas Beecher; of the *Ambrose*, Captain John Lowe; of the *Jewel*, Mr. Nicholas Hurlston. Governor Winthrop was on board the *Arbella*, having in his possession the Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company. Seven other vessels which left Southampton for the Massachusetts Bay a few weeks later are hereinafter referred to. As the voyage of Winthrop's fleet, transferring, as it did, the Charter and government of the Colony from England to the territory of the Company in America, was of vast importance in its consequences, all the features of the voyage, including the course pursued by the ships across the ocean, must ever be of historic interest. Fortunately we have in Winthrop's *Journal*¹ the data whereby, though we may not be able to fix the positions of the ships from day to day, we may yet lay down in a general way the track of at least three of them for practically the entire course.

The accompanying sketch has been reduced from a plotting of the voyage made under the direction of two nautical experts upon a government chart of the North Atlantic Ocean, issued by the Hydrographic Office of the Navy Department in September, 1908. The chart and sketch are based upon Mercator's Projection. Much of the matter on the chart not material to our subject has been eliminated, while divers descriptive words have been added to illustrate statements in the *Journal*.

Winthrop states that the captain of the *Arbella* ascertained his latitude by means of the cross-staff.² But while the elevation of the sun above the horizon could be measured with this instrument with a fair degree of accuracy and the latitude afterwards determined, it was impossible from the lack of accurate marine time-keepers at

¹ Hartford, 1790; Boston, 1825-1826; Boston, 1853; New York, 1908 (Hosmer's edition).

² *Journal* (Hosmer's edition), i. 32.

that period to ascertain longitude at sea. It was not until the year 1761 or thereabouts that John Harrison perfected his time-keepers so as to comply with the conditions named in the Act of the British Parliament in the year 1714, providing for a reward of £20,000 to any person who should discover a method of determining the longitude to one-half of a degree of a great circle, or thirty geographical miles. Harrison had to wait until the year 1773 before receiving the balance of the reward due him.¹

Winthrop therefore does not express his estimation of east or west positions or distances in degrees of longitude, but in terms of geographical places or distances, such as "about 90 leagues from Scilly, W. and by S.," and "in the midway between the false bank and the main bank," these east and west positions being estimated by dead reckoning, and sometimes, perhaps, by soundings.

In plotting the voyage, positions defined in the Journal both by their latitude and their bearing from geographical places have first been fixed. The line has then been run through these positions and, with one or two exceptions, through points whose latitude has been given and whose longitude has been estimated from the not too plentiful data which Winthrop has furnished as to courses and distances. The lines connecting positions are with few exceptions straight lines, there being a lack of adequate data from which to determine the length of minor courses. It is believed that the tracing of the voyage on the sketch does not vary much from the course actually pursued.

The fleet passed the Scillys before eight o'clock on the morning of April 11. Notwithstanding the courage and high purposes of both men and women, there must have been many sad regrets as the last of the Fatherland faded in the distance.

On the 15th the ships were in 47° 30' north latitude. That night the wind grew very strong, and before midnight the Talbot was lost sight of. Every day for some days thereafter a man was sent to the top to search the horizon, but nothing more was seen of her until her arrival at Charlestown on July 2, twenty days after the Arbella had reached Salem. The three remaining ships kept on together, and on April 21 Winthrop writes, "Our captain, overnight, had invited his

¹ Smiles, John Harrison, Inventor of the Marine Chronometer, in *Men of Invention*, London, 1884.

consorts to have dined with him this day, but it was such foul weather as they could not come aboard us." But it is pleasing to learn that the bad weather only occasioned a postponement of this dinner, for there is the following entry under date of the 23rd: "About eleven of the clock, our captain sent his skiff and fetched aboard us the masters of the other two ships, and Mr. Pynchon, and they dined with us in the round-house, for the lady¹ and gentlewomen dined in the great Cabin."

On April 25, when in about 45° of latitude, the fleet fell in with Captain Kirke's two ships.

In July, 1629, Quebec had been surrendered by Champlain, then in command of the French at that place, to David Kirke, commander of an expedition sent out by his father, Gervase Kirke, Sir William Alexander, and others under authority of a commission and letters of marque from Charles I. In this expedition David Kirke and his younger brothers Lewis and Thomas were each in command of one of the ships of the fleet. The writer has given a brief account of the capture of Quebec by the English, of its re-surrender to the French three years later, and of the subsequent career of the Kirkes, in the paper entitled, "An Incident in Winthrop's Voyage to New England," read before the Society in March, 1908.² Therein also he gives his reasons for believing that the two ships of which Winthrop speaks were under the command of Thomas Kirke, and were carrying recruits, stores, etc., for the English garrison at Quebec.

Upon the five ships thus gathered in mid-ocean were representatives of divers of the types of men who have contributed to British expansion.

Under date of April 26, Winthrop tells us that about one o'clock Captain Lowe sent his skiff to desire the captain of the *Arbella* to come aboard his ship, which he did, and there met the masters of the other ships and Captain Kirke, and that before night they all returned to their ships again. This meeting of the captains on board the *Ambrose* must have been an occasion full of interest. Captain Kirke undoubtedly told of the stirring incidents attending the expeditions against Canada and the capture of Quebec. The chances of a renewal of the war with France must have been talked over. We

¹ Lady *Arbella* Johnson.

² See pp. 101-113, above.

can easily picture them exchanging experiences as to soundings, currents, banks, prevailing winds, courses, distances, and other like matters. They could not have failed to discuss the question of their then position at sea.

On April 29 Winthrop states that they were not come above three hundred leagues, "being about one third part of our way, viz., about forty-six north latitude, and near the meridian of the *Terceras*."¹ There may be some error of statement here. It appears as if Winthrop must have put his position this day too far to the north. It is not stated that this latitude was obtained by observation. On the next day, the 30th, the Journal reads that their position was in forty-four north latitude. The conditions, it would seem, did not favor the traversing so great a distance in twenty-four hours. There being these doubts, no position has been located for the 29th.

On the 30th there was a strong gale which grew into a violent storm during the night. This storm continued through May 1 and 2. The *Ambrose*, the *Jewel*, and Captain Kirke's ships were lost sight of the first night of the storm. The *Ambrose* and the *Jewel* rejoined the *Arbella*, however, on May 2, but Kirke's ships were not seen again unless in the distance on May 18.

On May 3 the ships were by observation in latitude $43\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north. This it will be noted is just about the latitude of Cape Sable. The accompanying sketch shows that during the next few days the course was west along this parallel.

The purpose of the navigators of Winthrop's ships appears to have been to reach a position directly to the north of the Azores in the latitude in which they now were, and then to sail due west. The Azores are generally in latitude 37° to 40° north. At that time the course of vessels from a great part of western Europe to the West Indies lay more or less near the Azores, and they were perhaps a convenient point of departure for vessels bound for Virginia. Probably the islands were sometimes sought for and sighted merely to make sure of a vessel's position at sea, especially in going west. Some of the officers of Winthrop's fleet had doubtless many times sailed to them, or by and in sight of them. This experience must have invested them with considerable skill not only in finding the

¹ Terceira is one of the central group of the Azores, and is in about $27^{\circ} 10'$ west longitude.

islands themselves, but also in reaching positions in their neighborhood from which to take departures.¹

By May 9 the course of the ships had brought them further north and they were in latitude $44\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, while their longitude was supposed to be a little west of Corvo, the island which with Flores makes the north-westerly group of the Azores. On May 14 they were still in latitude $44\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, having made some progress, though they had encountered heavy weather.

On the 17th the Journal says they sounded and found no ground at one hundred fathom and more.

On the 18th towards night, while the rear-admiral was to leeward of them, they saw some two leagues more to leeward two ships which they conceived were Captain Kirke's. From this it would appear that Kirke was sailing for the time being on a parallel not very far to the north of $43\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.

On May 19 Winthrop states that they were in $44^{\circ} 12'$ north, "and by our account in the midway between the false bank and the main bank." The "main bank" is the Great or Grand Bank of Newfoundland. I have succeeded in identifying the "false bank" as the bank now called the Flemish Cap. This bank has been, and perhaps sometimes now is, also called the Outer Bank. It lies about 120 miles eastward of the northeast part of the Grand Bank.²

The origin of the name "False Bank" is not, it would seem, far to seek. In the time of the early voyages to the banks and coasts of Newfoundland, fishermen and other mariners, not knowing their longitude, must sometimes, finding ground here, have mistaken this bank for the Great Bank. Discovering their error later, they got to bestowing this uncomplimentary name upon the innocent object of their misapprehension. As stated above, no ground was found on

¹ In his journal of his voyage to New England, Francis Higginson says under date of June 1, 1629, "For coming now to the height of the Western Islands, some of our men fell sick of the scurvy, and others of the small pox," etc. (Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, 1846, p. 226). Higginson sighted Cape Sable June 24 (*ibid.* p. 231). On his second voyage, Josselyn sighted Flores and Corvo June 25, 1663, but passed them without landing. (Two Voyages to New England, 1865, p. 32.)

² See Edmund M. Blunt, *American Coast Pilot*, 1827, p. 564; E. & G. W. Blunt, *Chart of the North Atlantic Ocean*, New York, 1832; A *Chart of the Banks of Newfoundland*, 1775, in Jefferys's *American Atlas*, 1778, No. 13; Alexander G. Findlay, *Directory of the North Atlantic Ocean*, London, 1895.

the 17th. Perhaps the captain was then sounding for the False Bank. It does not extend so far south as their then position; but its limits were probably not definitely known at that time. It may be, however, that they wanted to verify their latitude and make sure that they were not so far north as the False Bank; and that when Winthrop states that on the 19th they were midway between the False Bank and the Main Bank, he meant on the meridian which runs between those banks.

This is the entire entry under May 31:

Wind N. W. a small gale, close and cold weather. We sounded, but had no ground. About noon the wind came N. by E., a stiff, constant gale and fair weather, so as our ship's way was seven, eight, and sometimes twelve leagues a watch. This day, about five at night, we expected the eclipse, but there was not any, the sun being fair and clear from three till it set.

I estimate that they were in about latitude $42^{\circ} 30'$ and longitude $61^{\circ} 25'$ when they expected the eclipse.

Robert W. Willson, Professor of Astronomy in Harvard University, has kindly furnished me with the following data regarding this eclipse, having computed time of day and duration as a partial eclipse at the position assumed above. The eclipse in question was a total solar eclipse, and is number 6732 of Oppolzer's Canon der Finsternisse, Vienna, 1887. The path of totality began at sunrise in the mid-Pacific, was over Hudson's Bay at local noon, thence traversed Greenland, Ireland, Land's End, and the British Channel, passed through France, and ended near Marseilles at sunset. In latitude $42^{\circ} 30'$, longitude $61^{\circ} 25'$, the eclipse began at 1 h. 55 min. P. M. local mean time, and ended at 3 h. 8 min. P. M. The maximum phase was at 2 h. 32 min. when the sun was still giving about 70 per cent of his whole light; at 3 P. M. he was giving about 92 per cent, and the eclipse was practically over. At maximum phase the diminution would not have been noticeable unless one were looking for the eclipse at the time. We are, of course, not sure that Winthrop's time was within several minutes of correct local mean time. The language quoted may imply that the sun was more or less clouded before three, and that they were not looking for the eclipse before five. Winthrop or some of his associates had undoubtedly seen predicted the time the eclipse would

take place in Great Britain and Ireland. Their failure to see it was on account of the sun's being obscured before three, or because they failed to make sufficient allowance for the difference in local time between England and their position plus the difference in absolute time of the occurrence of the eclipse in the two regions.

On June 2 the captain of the *Arbella*, knowing that there were dangerous shoals to the south, fitted on a new mainsail that was very strong and double, not liking to adventure with his old sails as before, when he had sea-room enough. The shoals referred to must have been the Georges.

On June 3 there was thick fog. About two P. M. ground was found at about eighty fathoms, — a fine gray sand. They tacked and stood S. S. E. and shot off a piece of ordnance to notify the consorts, who had not been seen since the previous evening. As there is no further mention of the *Ambrose* and the *Jewel* until after their arrival in port, those vessels probably remained separated from the *Arbella* after June 2.

On June 6 the wind was northeast and later north, a good gale, but still foggy at times. The *Journal* goes on, "We stood W. N. W., both to make Cape Sable, if we might, and also because of the current, which near the west shore sets to the S., that we might be more clear from the southern shoals, viz., of Cape Cod."

At this time navigators evidently knew of the Arctic current setting to the south and southwest off the coasts of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. The general directions of this and of the Gulf Stream current to the south and east of it, the Gulf Stream current flowing northeasterly, are shown on the sketch. The ships had to contend against the Gulf Stream current until about May 14. Thereafter the Arctic current helped them south and west to Cape Sable. The following is the rest of the entry for the same day, June 6:

About two in the afternoon we sounded and had ground at about eighty fathom, and the mist then breaking up, we saw the shore to the N. about five or six leagues off, and were (as we supposed) to the S. W. of Cape Sable, and in forty three and a quarter. Towards night it calmed and was foggy again, and the wind came S. and by E. We tacked and stood W. and by N., intending to make land at Aquamenticus, being to the N. of the Isles of Shoals.

The land they saw was undoubtedly Cape Sable or other land on the south shore of Nova Scotia. The first paragraph quoted under June 6 indicates their desire to see land, the object being to learn their position, especially as regards longitude. They had had no means of estimating this since they had left the Scillys some eight weeks before except by dead reckoning, soundings, and possibly at some positions by noting the variations of the compass.¹ If they could have ascertained longitude as it is ascertained now, they could have sailed on a great circle from the Scillys to or near to Cape Sable, and this would have been a great saving in time and distance, while their knowledge of their exact positions would have minimized the danger of shipwreck on the coast.

As illustrating the difficulties under which navigators labored before they had the means of finding their longitude, I would cite two instances which occurred during Commodore George Anson's voyage around the world, 1740 to 1744, more than a hundred years after Winthrop's voyage. Captain Legge, in command of the *Severn*, after doubling Cape Horn, steered, as he thought, for the island of Chiloe, but, to his astonishment, found himself on the wrong side of South America, having the high land of Patagonia to the westward of him, and being *twelve degrees* out of his longitude.²

Commodore Anson himself, in command of the *Centurion*, gained the west coast of South America, but a great number of his men were afflicted with scurvy. To recruit them by life on shore and with vegetable food he determined to steer for the island of Juan Fernandez. It was resolved, if possible, "to hit the island on a meridian." But when they had reached its latitude no island was in sight. Upon consultation of the officers it was the consensus of opinion that they were west of the island, and it was decided to sail east on its parallel. The result was that in two days they made the mountains of Chili. Nothing remained but to reverse their course; but their progress west was much slower than it had been east, and it took some eleven days to reach Juan Fernandez. In consequence of this error of judgment

¹ Winsor, *Christopher Columbus*, pp. 201-203; L. A. Bauer, *United States Magnetic Declination Tables and Isogonic Charts for 1902*, pp. 22-24, 24 note. Under date of May 25 Winthrop writes: "We went on with a handsome gale, and at noon were in forty three and a half; and the variation of the compass was a point and one-sixth."

² Barrow, *Life of Lord Anson*, 1839, p. 84.

it was estimated that from seventy to eighty men were lost, who might have been saved if the course of the ship had been originally directed west.¹

It will be observed that the next landfall intended was at Agamenticus, now York, Maine. A settlement had been made at Agamenticus in or about the year 1623, on land included in a patent issued by the Council for New England to Sir Ferdinando Gorges of 24,000 acres on both sides of the Agamenticus (York) River.² It lies in latitude between $43^{\circ} 5'$ and $43^{\circ} 10'$. The elevation now called Mt. Agamenticus lies in the north part of York and in latitude between $43^{\circ} 10'$ and $43^{\circ} 15'$. It was therefore clearly their intention to continue west on practically the same parallel on which they were until they should see land, and then to keep on along the coast to Salem.

It would appear, however, that wind and weather did not serve this purpose, for between head winds and calms they were on the afternoon of the 8th brought to within sight of Mt. Desert, then about ten leagues to the northwest of them. Their general course was now along the coast. On the 10th they lost sight of "the former land," which I assume to have been the high lands from Mt. Desert to the Camden Hills, and made other high land on their starboard as far off as they could descry,³ but lost it again.

I make this extract from a further entry under the 10th:

About four in the afternoon we made land on our starboard bow, called the Three Turks' Heads, being a ridge of three hills upon the main, whereof the southmost is the greatest. It lies near Aquamenticus. We descried, also, another hill, more northward, which lies by Cape Porpus. We saw, also, ahead of us, some four leagues from shore, a small rock, called Boone Isle, not above a flight shot over, which hath a dangerous shoal to the E. and by S. of it, some two leagues in length. We kept our luff and weathered it, and left it on our starboard about two miles off. Towards night we might see the trees in all places very plainly, and a small hill to the southward of the Turks' Heads. All the rest of the land to the S. was plain, low land.

¹ Ibid. pp. 46-47; F. J. Britten, *Old Clocks and Watches and their Makers*, 1899, pp. 235, 236.

² Williamson, *History of Maine*, 1832, i. 231 and note.

³ Savage believes this to have been the White Mountains (*Winthrop's Journal*, 1853, i. 28).

Then, in order to have plenty of leeway to pass the ledge of rocks near Boone Isle, they tacked and stood S. E. with a stiff gale at S. by W.

The question arises, to what elevation of land does Winthrop refer when he speaks of the "Three Turks' Heads." In search of an answer I will cite certain features of Mt. Agamenticus as laid down on map "Maine — New Hampshire — York Sheet" of the United States Geological Survey, "Edition of Oct. 1893 reprinted Mar. 1904." This shows three peaks or hills on a ridge, the height of the most northeasterly peak being 513 feet, that of the central 504 feet, and that of the southwesterly (and "southmost") 675 feet. The northeasterly peak is about seven-tenths of a mile from the central peak, and the latter is about the same distance from the southwesterly peak. Some two and one-half miles to the south of the southwesterly peak is a hill or peak 348 feet in height. South of this on the map there are no elevations above 169 feet, and the conditions, in my opinion, accord with Winthrop's statement that "all the rest of the land to the S. was plain, low land." On the map the name "Mt. Agamenticus" is written on the southwesterly of the three peaks. The characteristics of Mt. Agamenticus above recited conform to those of the Three Turks' Heads as described by Winthrop, and I know of no other prominent elevations having those features. My conclusion is that when Winthrop mentions "Agamenticus" or "Aquamenticus" he means the Gorges settlement at what is now York; and that by the "Three Turks' Heads" he means the hill now called Mt. Agamenticus together with its two companion hills as above.¹

¹ It will be remembered that the promontory now known as Cape Ann was originally named Tragabizanda by Captain John Smith, and that Smith also named three of the islands off that Cape the "three *Turks heads*" (Works, 1884, p. 204). I suggest the probability that Mt. Agamenticus temporarily acquired the name of the Three Turks' Heads through some confusion in the description of, or reference to, the said three islands off Cape Ann.

Hubbard gives his version as to how the cape and three islands referred to ceased to be called by the above names respectively in characteristic language as follows:

As some merchants from the west of England had for a long time frequented the parts about Munhiggon, for the taking of fish, &c., so did others, especially those of Dorchester, make the like attempt upon the northern promontory of the Massachusetts Bay, in probability first discovered by Capt. Smith, before or in the year 1614, and by him named Tragabizanda, for the sake of a lady from whom he received much favor while he was a prisoner among the Turks; by whom also the three small islands at the head of the Cape were called the Three Turks' Heads. But neither of them glorying

On June 11 the wind was still southwest, and they stood to and again all day within sight of Cape Ann. On the next day the *Arbella* arrived at Salem, passing through the narrow strait between Baker's Island and Little Island and coming to anchor a little within the islands. On the 13th the *Jewel* arrived — also at Salem. The *Ambrose* reached the same place June 18. On July 2 the *Talbot* arrived at Charlestown as before stated. Her voyage had lasted nearly three months, during which she had lost fourteen passengers.

Besides the historic importance of Winthrop's voyage considered by itself, it seems to me that it must have been more or less typical of many of the voyages from England to Massachusetts in the seventeenth century. In such case, by carefully studying that voyage we may be learning considerable about other voyages also. This view would particularly apply to the paths taken by the ships over the ocean. On inspecting the accompanying sketch it will appear that a vessel from Britain sailing southwesterly until it struck the parallel of, say, $43^{\circ} 15'$, might well run down that parallel, get soundings on the southerly end of the Great Bank of Newfoundland and on the banks off Nova Scotia, keep away from Georges Shoal, obtain sight of land at Cape Sable and ascertain position, and thence run down the same parallel until Mt. Agamenticus was sighted.¹ This landmark is unique, and there are no other high hills or mountains in the neighborhood. Seeing it at a distance out at sea, the navigator would know his position and could at once shape his course for Massachusetts

in these Mahometan titles, the promontory willingly exchanged its name for that of Cape Anne, imposed, as is said, by Captain Mason, and which it retaineth to this day, in honor of our famous Queen Anne, then surviving, the royal consort of King James; and the three other islands are now known by other names (*History of New England* 1878, p. 105).

The story of "this Noble Gentlewoman," as Smith called Charatza Tragabigzanda, and of the three Turks whom he overcame in single combat, is told by the redoubtable Captain in his *True Travels, Adventures, and Observations*, published in 1630 (*Works*, pp. 838-840, 853, 866). But Hubbard was mistaken in thinking that Capt. John Mason imposed the name of Ann upon the cape, as the change was made by Prince Charles (*ibid.* p. 232). It is worth noting that the same royal personage altered the name of Accominticus to Boston. But while the former change was accepted, the latter was rejected. Young gives the present names of the three islands as Straitsmouth Island, Thacher's Island, and Milk Island (*Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 22 note).

¹ On the sketch a line across the Atlantic on the parallel of $43^{\circ} 15'$ is laid in illustration.

Bay. The above, like any other intended course at sea, is to be sailed subject to conditions of wind and weather. If after passing Cape Sable the wind was adverse for a considerable time, for the purpose of determining position the coast of Maine to the north might be sought with comparative safety because of their having the means of ascertaining their latitude. Such may have been the reason for the Arbella's coming within sight of the Maine coast. After Agamenticus had been sighted, there would seem to have been no necessity for making a tack inside Boone Island. The purpose of so doing was probably to obtain information as to the lay of the land and the general conditions of the region; perhaps to study Mt. Agamenticus as a landmark. In this way the men on the Arbella doubtless acquired a knowledge of those parts which it would not have been practicable for so many to have attempted to do after they had become located in the Bay. But whatever the tracks of other ships bringing passengers across the Atlantic at that period, or whatever their build or characteristics, they appear to have been in the hands of skilful navigators.¹

There were seven other ships destined for the Massachusetts Bay which it was intended should be of Winthrop's fleet, but not being ready for the voyage they remained for the time at Southhampton. They sailed, however, in May and all arrived here early in July.²

¹ See Johnson, *Wonder-working Providence*, pp. 31, 34; Hubbard, *History of New England*, pp. 199, 200.

² In his *Annals of New England*, published in 1755, Prince gives (p. 10) this "List of Ships which arriv'd in New-England this Year," 1630:

No	Names	whence set sail	when set sail	when arriv'd	where arriv'd
		<i>England</i>	1630	1630	<i>New-Engl.</i>
1	Lyon	Bristol	Feb.	Maye.	Salem
2	Mary-John	Plymouth	March 20	May 30	Nantasket
3	Arbella	Yarmouth at the Isle of Wight	April 8	June 12	Salem
4	Jewell		ditto	June 13	
5	Ambrose		ditto	June 18	
6	Talbot		ditto	July 2	
7	May Flowr	S. Hampton	May	} July 1	Charleston
8	Whale	ditto	ditto		
9	Hopewell	ditto	ditto	} July 3	[Salem]
10	Wm & Fran.	ditto	ditto		
11	Tryal	ditto	ditto	} July 5	} Charleston
12	Charles	ditto	ditto		
13	Success	ditto	ditto	July 6	[Salem]

Thus there were eleven ships in this particular expedition, though sailing in two separate fleets or divisions, for we may assume, I think, that the seven ships sailed from Southampton together as they all arrived at Charlestown or Salem between July 1st and July 6th, inclusive.¹ Not only were some seven hundred men, women, and children transported in these eleven vessels, but, as before stated, the Charter and government of the Colony were transferred to Massachusetts. An English commercial and colonial company had become an American Commonwealth. In the accomplishment of this great purpose one cannot fail to see the exercise of wisdom, of courage, of business ability, and of the power of organization, all in a high degree.

14	Gift	Maye.	Aug. 20	Charlestown
15	Another	June		
16	Handmaid	Aug. 6	Oct. 29	Plymouth
17	Another set out by a private Merchant			

The Mayflower, Whale, Hopewell, William and Francis, Trial, Charles, and Success, are the ships which in the text are stated to have sailed in May.

¹ In a letter to his wife written on board the Arbella at Cowes on March 28, 1630, Winthrop, referring to the four vessels which sailed from Yarmouth and the seven which sailed from Southampton, says: "We are, in all our eleven ships, about seven hundred persons, passengers." He also states that the Mary and John carried about one hundred and forty persons, and the Lion about eighty (Life and Letters, 1864, p. 388). Young says that the Handmaid brought about sixty passengers (Chronicles of Massachusetts, p. 310 note).

JANUARY MEETING, 1909

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 28 January, 1909, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY *pro tempore* reported that letters had been received from Mr. OGDEN CODMAN of Lincoln and Mr. MORRIS HICKY MORGAN of Cambridge accepting Resident Membership, and from the Hon. JOHN TAGGARD BLODGETT of Providence, Rhode Island, accepting Corresponding Membership.

The name of Mr. WORTHINGTON C. FORD was transferred from the Roll of Corresponding Members to that of Resident Members, since he has resumed his residence in Massachusetts.

Mr. HAROLD MURDOCK of Brookline, and Mr. WILLIAM LOWELL PUTNAM of Manchester, were elected Resident Members.

On behalf of the Hon. JOHN TAGGARD BLODGETT, a Corresponding Member, Mr. HENRY H. EDES communicated the following paper:

THE POLITICAL THEORY OF THE
MAYFLOWER COMPACT.

On the 11th day of November, Old Style, 1620, in the cabin of the Mayflower there was signed a compact by the Pilgrims which has been characterized by Bancroft as "the birth of popular constitutional liberty," and of which Governor Bradford thus speaks:

I shall a litle returne backe and beginne with a combination made by them before they came ashore, being ye first foundation of their governmente in this place; occasioned partly by the discontented and mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them had let fall from them in the ship — That when they came a shore they would use their owne libertie; for none had power to comand them, the patente they had being for Virginia, and not for New-england, which belonged to an other Government, with which the Virginia Company had nothing to doe. And partly that shuch an acte by them done (this their condition considered) might be as firme as any patent, and in some respects more sure. The forme was as followeth.

In ye name of God, Amen. We whose names are under-written, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, etc., haveing undertaken, for the glorie of God, and advancemente of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and countrie, a voyage to plant the first colonie in the Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly and mutuallly in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine our selves together into a civill body politick, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just and equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for the generall good of the Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-Codd ye 11. of November, in the year of the raigne of our soveraigne lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fiftie fourth. An^o: Dom. 1620.¹

The prophecy of Bradford that this compact was "in some respects more sure" than any patent has been fully realized in our day, for with us it is accepted as a self-evident truth as expressed in the words of the Declaration of Independence, that all governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed." But the statements contained in this compact were not the views commonly held in that age and were directly opposed to the doctrines inculcated by philosophers and widely entertained for many years to come. And it may not be an unprofitable employment briefly to consider some of the theories to which it was opposed, as well as brief extracts from the writings of some of the philosophers and statesmen by whom it was later supported.

Thomas Hobbes, a royalist, the advocate of the so-called "Selfish

¹ History of Plymouth Plantation (1908), pp. 106, 107.

School of Philosophy," proceeded upon the theory that the natural relation of man to his fellow-man was a state of war; "as a selfish, ferocious animal he required the hand of despotism to keep him in check," and all notions of right and wrong are made to depend upon views of self interest alone, thus basing the origin of civil government rather upon conquest than upon a voluntary social compact. In his *Leviathan*, published in 1651, he says:

To this warre of every man against every man, this also is consequent; that nothing can be Unjust. The notions of Right and Wrong, Justice and Injustice have there no place. Where there is no common Power, there is no Law: where no Law, no Injustice. Force, and Fraud, are in warre the two Cardinall vertues. Justice, and Injustice are none of the Faculties neither of the Body, nor Mind. If they were, they might be in a man that were alone in the world, as well as his Senses, and Passions. They are Qualities, that relate to men in Society, not in Solitude. It is consequent also to the same condition, that there be no Propriety, no Dominion, no *Mine* and *Thine* distinct; but onely that to be every mans, that he can get; and for so long, as he can keep it. And thus much for the ill condition, which man by meer Nature is actually placed in; though with a possibility to come out of it, consisting partly in the Passions, partly in his Reason.¹

The opinion that any Monarch receiveth his Power by Covenant, that is to say on Condition, proceedeth from want of understanding this easie truth, that Covenants being but words, and breath, have no force to oblige, contain, constrain, or protect any man, but what it has from the publique Sword; that is, from the untied hands of that Man, or Assembly of men that hath the Sovereignty, and whose actions are avouched by them all, and performed by the strength of them all, in him united. But when an Assembly of men is made Sovereigne; then no man imagineth any such Covenant to have passed in the Institution; for no man is so dull as to say, for example, the People of *Rome*, made a Covenant with the Romans, to hold the Sovereignty on such or such conditions; which not performed, the Romans might lawfully depose the Roman People. That men see not the reason to be alike in a Monarchy, and in a Popular Government, proceedeth from the ambition of some, that are kinder to the government of an Assembly, whereof they may hope to participate, than of Monarchy, which they despair to enjoy.²

¹ *Leviathan* (1651), pt. i. ch. xiii. p. 63.

² *Ibid.* pt. ii. ch. xviii. pp. 89, 90.

But the Rights, and Consequences of Sovereignty, are the same in both. His Power cannot, without his consent, be Transferred to another: He cannot Forfeit it: He cannot be Accused by any of his Subjects, of Injury: He cannot be Punished by them: He is Judge of what is necessary for Peace; and Judge of Doctrines: He is Sole Legislator; and Supreme Judge of Controversies; and of the Times, and Occasions of Warre, and Peace: to him it belongeth to choose Magistrates, Counsellours, Commanders, and all other Officers, and Ministers; and to determine of Rewards and Punishments, Honour, and Order.¹

A fourth opinion, repugnant to the nature of a Common-wealth, is this, *That he that hath the Sovereign Power is subject to the Civill Lawes.* It is true, that Sovereigns are all subject to the Lawes of Nature; because such lawes be Divine, and cannot by any man, or Common-wealth be abrogated. But to those Lawes which the Sovereign himselfe, that is, which the Common-wealth maketh, he is not subject. For to be subject to Lawes is to be subject to the Common-wealth, that is to the Sovereign Representative, that is to himselfe; which is not subjection, but freedome from the Lawes. Which error, because it setteth the Lawes above the Sovereign, setteth also a Judge above him, and a Power to punish him; which is to make a new Sovereign; and again for the same reason a third, to punish the second; and so continually without end, to the Confusion, and Dissolution of the Common-wealth.²

It is hardly necessary to indicate how opposed are such views to the teachings of the New Testament, nor how they ignore all the rights of man and base all human government upon supreme force.

Sir Robert Filmer derived the origin of government from the Old Testament — from the grant of the earth first to Adam and later to Noah, and held that as by nature the authority of parents over their infant children was practically an absolute authority, in like manner the power of governments over their subjects was identical with that of the patriarchs over their descendants, and was absolute and unlimited. Some of his pamphlets were composed when Charles I and the Commons were contending for the supremacy, and inasmuch as the doctrine of the divine right of the King to rule of necessity implied the doctrine of the duty of passive obedience on the part of the subject, it is little wonder that the cause of the House of Stuart was based on the views he thus expressed and that in the reign of

¹ Leviathan, pt. ii. ch. xx. p. 102.

² Ibid. pt. ii. ch. xxix. p. 169.

James II these doctrines became the political creed of the Stuarts and their adherents, and constituted the current divinity of the time. Thus Filmer says:

The first government in the world was Monarchicall in the father of all flesh. Adam being commanded to multiply, and people the earth and to subdue it, and having dominion given him over all creatures, was thereby the Monarch of the whole world; none of his posterity had any right to possess any thing, but by his grant or permission, or by succession from him: the earth, saith the Psalmist, hath he given to the children of men: which shews the title comes from the fatherhood. There never was any such thing as an independent multitude, who at first had a naturall right to a community: this is but a fiction, or fancy of too many in these dayes, who please themselves in running after the opinions of Philosophers and Poets, to finde out such an originall of government, as might promise them some title to liberty, to the great scandall of Christianity, and bringing in of Atheisme, since a naturall freedome of mankind cannot be supposed without the deniall of the creation of Adam.¹

I cannot finde any one place or Text in the Bible, where any power or Commission is given to a people either to govern themselves, or to choose themselves governours, or to alter the manner of government at their pleasure; the power of government is settled and fixed by the Commandement of Honour thy Father; if there were a higher power then the fatherly, then this Commandement could not stand and bee observed: Whereas we read in Scripture of some actions of the people in setting up of Kings, further then to a naked declaration by a part of the people of their obedience such actions could not amount, since we finde no Commission they have to bestow any right, a true representation of the people to be made, is as impossible as for the whole people to govern; the names of an Aristocratie, a Democratie, a Commonweal, a State, or any other of like signification, are not to be met either in the Law or Gospell.²

And again, he thus interprets the New Testament:

But take the words in what sense soever you will, it is most evident, that Saint Peter in this place, takes no notice of any government or governours, but of a King and governours sent by him, but not by the people. And it is to be noted, that Saint Peter, and Saint Paul, the two chiefe of the Apostles,

¹ Observations upon Aristotles Politiques, touching Forms of Government (1652), Preface.

² Ibid.

writ their Epistles at such time, when the name of a popular government, or of the power of the people of Rome was at least so much in shew and in name, that many do beleieve that notwithstanding the Emperours by strong hand, usurped a Military power; yet the government was for a long time in most things then in the Senate and people of Rome; but for all this, neither of the two Apostles take any notice of any such popular government; No, nor our Saviour himselfe, who divides all between God and Cæsar, and allows nothing that we can finde for the people.¹

Abhorrent and monstrous as these doctrines seem to us of to-day, yet the principles set forth in Filmer's writings were so widely entertained that they were reprinted in 1679 and again in 1680, while Patriarcha, his chief book, was published in 1680, many years after the death of the author and near the close of the reign and of the life of Charles II, and was again republished in 1685 in the first year of the reign of James II.²

We now pass to a brief consideration of a few passages from the writings of two of the men who refuted the contention that civil government rested upon force and that kings ruled by divine right, and, aided doubtless by the oppressions of that monarch, established the basis of government as it was established in the Mayflower compact as resting upon the voluntary consent of the people to laws made for the general good, and as it has now been established in the fundamental law of the republic.

Of Algernon Sidney, John Quincy Adams thus writes:

Sidney, though not included in the number of the regicides, was one of the main pillars of the republican cause, and was personally obnoxious to Charles the second, for some occasional offensive remarks that he had

¹ Observations, etc., Preface.

² On November 29, 1769, Harvard College received from Thomas Hollis a volume containing six of Filmer's pamphlets printed in 1680. On a fly-leaf Hollis has written the following:

As the *Patriarcha* gave occasion to two of the noblest works which were ever executed by men, the "Discourses of Government" by Algernon Sydney, and "Two Treatises of Government," by John Locke; I have been willing to send all the Publications of Sir R. Filmer, to Harvard College, that so the whole of those Works by the curious may be compared.

Aug. 12. 69.

Floreat Libertas!

T. H.

recently made — especially for two Latin lines that he had written in the album of the royal library at Copenhagen:

*Manus haec inimica tyrannis
Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem.*

*This hand, the rule of tyrants to oppose
Seeks with the sword fair freedom's soft repose.*

The second of which lines —

Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem —

was adopted by the founders of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, as the motto to the arms of the State; a motto lasting as the Commonwealth herself, and ever admonishing her sons that the enjoyment of quiet freedom is the *only* lawful motive for drawing the sword to shed blood in resistance of tyranny, and signally marking at the same time their approbation of this sublime sentiment and their profound veneration for the character of Algernon Sidney.¹

Forty-five years after the death of Filmer there was published, in 1698, Sidney's *Discourses on Government*, which was written for the express purpose of refuting the writings of Filmer. In that work he thus contends:

But if these opinions comprehend an extravagancy of wickedness and madness, that was not known among men, till some of these wretches presumed to attempt the increase of that corruption under which mankind groans, by adding fuel to the worst of all vices; we may safely return to our propositions, that, God having established no such authority as our author fancies, nations are left to the use of their own judgment, in making provision for their own welfare; that there is no lawful magistrate over any of them, but such as they have set up; that in creating them, they do not seek the advantage of their magistrate but their own: and having found that an absolute power over the people is a burden, which no man can bear; and that no wise or good man ever desired it; from thence conclude, that it is not good for any to have it, nor just for any to affect it, though it were personally good for himself; because he is not exalted to seek his own good, but that of the public.²

¹ *The Social Compact* (1842), p. 28.

² *Discourses on Government* (1805), i. 453, 454.

By this means every number of men, agreeing together, and framing a society, became a complete body, having all power in themselves over themselves, subject to no other human law than their own. All those that compose the society, being equally free to enter into it or not, no man could have any prerogative above others, unless it were granted by the consent of the whole; and nothing obliging them to enter into this society, but the consideration of their own good; that good, or the opinion of it, must have been the rule, motive, and end of all that they did ordain. It is lawful therefore for any such bodies to set up one or a few men to govern them, or to retain the power in themselves; and he or they who are set up, having no other power but what is conferred upon them by that multitude, whether great or small, are truly by them made what they are; and by the law of their own creation, are to exercise those powers according to the proportion, and to the ends for which they were given.¹

. . . that this equality of right, and exemption from the domination of any other is called liberty: that he, who enjoys it, cannot be deprived of it, unless by his own consent, or by force: that no man can force a multitude; or, if he did, it could confer no right upon him: that a multitude, consenting to be governed by one man, doth confer upon him the power of governing them; the powers therefore that he has, are from them; and they who have all in themselves can receive nothing from him, who has no more than every one of them till they do invest him with it.²

How deeply these views of Filmer had taken root further appears when we consider the writings of John Locke, the author of the *Essay concerning Human Understanding* and the framer of the *Fundamental Constitutions for the Carolinas*, who published in 1690, seven years after Sidney's death, his *Two Treatises of Government*, on the title-page of one of which he states that "the false principles and foundation of Sir Robert Filmer and his followers are detected and overthrown." Locke writes:

The natural liberty of man is to be free from any superior power on earth, and not to be under the will or legislative authority of man, but to have only the law of nature for his rule. The liberty of man, in society, is to be under no other legislative power, but that established, by consent, in the commonwealth; nor under the dominion of any will, or restraint of any law, but what that legislative shall enact, according to the trust

¹ *Discourses on Government*, ii. 20, 21.

² *Ibid.* ii. 381.

put in it. Freedom then is not what sir Robert Filmer tells us, O. A. 55. "a liberty for every one to do what he lists, to live as he pleases, and not to be tied by any laws:" but freedom of men under government is, to have a standing rule to live by, common to every one of that society, and made by the legislative power erected in it; a liberty to follow my own will in all things, where the rule prescribes not; and not to be subject to the inconstant, uncertain, unknown, arbitrary will of another man: as freedom of nature is, to be under no other restraint but the law of nature.¹

Hence it is evident, that absolute monarchy, which by some men is counted the only government in the world, is indeed inconsistent with civil society, and so can be no form of civil government at all: for the end of civil society being to avoid and remedy these inconveniences of the state of nature, which necessarily follow from every man being judge in his own case, by setting up a known authority, to which every one of that society may appeal upon any injury received, or controversy that may arise, and which every one of the society ought to obey; wherever any persons are, who have not such an authority to appeal to, for the decision of any difference between them, there those persons are still in the state of nature; and so is every absolute prince, in respect of those who are under his dominion.²

Men being, as has been said, by nature all free, equal, and independent, no one can be put out of this estate, and subjected to the political power of another, without his own consent. The only way whereby any one divests himself of his natural liberty, and puts on the bonds of civil society, is by agreeing with other men to join and unite into a community, for their comfortable, safe, and peaceable living one amongst another, in a secure enjoyment of their properties, and a greater security against any that are not of it. This any number of men may do, because it injures not the freedom of the rest; they are left as they were in the liberty of the state of nature. When any number of men have so consented to make one community or government, they are thereby presently incorporated, and make one body politic, wherein the majority have a right to act and conclude the rest.³

Whosoever therefore out of a state of nature unite into a community, must be understood to give up all the power necessary to the ends for which they unite into society, to the majority of the community, unless

¹ *Two Treatises*, § 22, Works (1823), v. 351.

² *Ibid.* § 90, v. 389, 390.

³ *Ibid.* § 95, v. 394.

they expressly agreed in any number greater than the majority. And this is done by barely agreeing to unite into one political society, which is all the compact that is, or needs be, between the individuals that enter into, or make up a commonwealth. And thus that which begins and actually constitutes any political society, is nothing but the consent of any number of freemen capable of a majority, to unite and incorporate into such a society. And this is that, and that only, which did or could give beginning to any lawful government in the world.¹

The principles advocated by Sidney and by Locke constitute the foundation of the Declaration of Independence, and in connection with the writings of Montesquieu and Rousseau that of the Constitution of the United States.

In conclusion it may be observed that the compact made on the Mayflower is of peculiar interest also because of its counterpart entered into upon the banks of the Moshassuck, in the year 1637, by the founders of the Providence Plantation, in these words:

We whose names are hereunder desirous to inhabitt in the towne of providence do promise to subject *ourselves* in actiue or passiue obedience to *all* such orders or agreements as shall *be* made for publick good of o^r body in an orderly *way* by the maior consent of the *present* Inhabitants maisters of families Incorporated together into a towne fellowship and others whome they shall admitt *unto them* only in ciuill things.²

"So live the fathers in their sons,
Their sturdy faith be ours,
And ours the love that overruns
Its rocky strength with flowers.

The Pilgrim's wild and wintry day
Its shadow round us draws;
The Mayflower of his stormy bay
Our Freedom's struggling cause."³

On behalf of the Hon. HORACE DAVIS, a Corresponding Member, Mr. ANDREW McF. DAVIS read the following paper:

¹ Two Treatises, § 99, v. 396.

² Early Records of the Town of Providence, i. 1.

³ Whittier, *The Mayflowers*.

DR. BENJAMIN GOTT: A FAMILY OF DOCTORS.

Dr. Benjamin Gott was a physician of some prominence in Marlboro, Massachusetts, in the middle of the eighteenth century. His father, John Gott, a well-to-do tanner of Wenham, had three sons; the elder two he intended should continue his business, while Benjamin, the youngest, was indentured to Dr. Samuel Wallis of Ipswich to learn the "art and mysteries" of the physician's profession. Benjamin was born March 13, 1705-06, and was probably about thirteen or fourteen years old at the beginning of his apprenticeship. His father died in 1722 during his indenture, and in his will charged his elder sons to "find him with good and sufficient clothing during the time he is to live with Dr. Wallis as may appear by his indenture" and "pay him £200 in silver money or in good bills of credit when he arrives at the age of twenty-one years."

Here I lose sight of the boy for six years. He probably finished his term with Dr. Wallis, received his two hundred pounds, moved west to Marlboro, which even in 1727 was well out towards the wilderness, and started in the practice of medicine.

On January 20, 1728, being only twenty-two, he married Sarah, daughter of the Rev. Robert Breck of Marlboro. She was only sixteen or seventeen years old, when this young couple launched out into life on their own account. The Rev. Robert Breck, a descendant of Edward Breck of Dorchester, graduated from Harvard College in 1700 and was a clergyman of some note in his day. His wife, Elizabeth, was the daughter of Simon Wainwright of Haverhill, who was killed by Indians in 1708. These Wainwrights form a remarkable family distinguished for their wealth, their military spirit, and the extraordinary number of their college-bred men.

Three years later, on January 6, 1731, the Rev. Mr. Breck died leaving to Dr. Gott "two acres of land as recompense for instructing my son Robert in the rules of physic." This Robert Breck, Junior, born July 25, 1713, graduated at Harvard College in 1730, preached in Springfield in 1734, was ordained on January 26, 1736, and was settled over the Springfield parish where he gained considerable distinction as a preacher. It does not appear that he ever practised medicine as a profession, but it was not uncommon in those early

days for a minister to acquire some technical knowledge of the healing art, so that he could care for the bodily ailments of his people, as well as their spiritual needs, in case his field of work fell in one of the small outlying towns, just as the missionaries in China to-day are often practising physicians.

The Rev. Mr. Breck's will also left to Dr. Gott "ten pounds worth of books out of my library," which will account for the large number of theological works in the inventory of Dr. Gott's library.¹

It is worthy of note here that a younger son of Mr. Breck, Samuel, born May 17, 1723, graduated at Harvard College in 1742, also studied medicine, perhaps with Dr. Gott, and settled in Worcester in 1743, in the practice of his profession. Dr. Gott's oldest son Benjamin, too, became a physician and practised in Brookfield, while Anna, daughter of Dr. Gott, married Dr. Samuel Brigham, a physician of Marlboro, and her son, Samuel Brigham, practised medicine in Boylston. Medicine certainly ran in the family.

Returning to Dr. Gott, on January 8, 1733-34, a young man named Hollister Baker, about sixteen years old, was apprenticed to him, till he should come of age, "to learn his art, trade or mystery." Baker's father had disappeared and his guardian apprenticed him to Dr. Gott, in the manner of that time, to be made a doctor. Things moved fast in those days. Dr. Gott, only twenty-eight years old, was married, with three children — and more coming; already one student, a graduate of Harvard, had passed through his tuition and gone out into the world, and another lad had entered his office under a five years' apprenticeship. Baker's original indenture lies before me and is worth preserving, as a sample of the ways of medical education in 1734. It runs as follows:

THIS INDENTURE WITNESSETH, That Hollister Baker a minor aged about sixteen son of Mr. Eben^r Baker late of Marlborough in the County of Middlesex Gent. Deceased of his own free Will and Accord, and with the Consent of Benj^a Wood of Marlborough in ye County aforesaid his Guardian doth Put and Bind himself to be an Apprentice unto Benj^a Gott of Marlboro in ye County aforesaid Physician to learn his Art, Trade or Mystery, and with him the said Benj^a Gott after the manner of an Apprentice, to Dwell and Serve from the Day of the Date hereof,

¹ New England Historical and Genealogical Register, lvi. 341-344.

for and during the full and just Term of five Years and four months next ensuing, and fully to be Compleat and Ended. During all which said Term, the said Apprentice his said Master and Mistress honestly and faithfully shall Serve, so long as his Master lives of said Term,¹ their Secrets keep Close their lawful and reasonable Commands every where gladly Do and Perform; Damage to his said Master and Mistress he shall not wilfully Do, his Masters Goods he shall not Waste, Embezel, Purloine or Lend unto others, nor suffer the same to be wasted or purloined; but to his power shall forthwith Discover, and make Known the same unto his said Master or Mistress. Taverns nor Alehouses he shall not frequent; at Cards, Dice, or any other unlawful Game he shall not Play; Fornication he shall not Commit, nor Matrimony Contract with any Person, during said Term: From his Masters Service he shall not at any time unlawfully Absent himself But in all things as a good, honest and faithful Servant and Apprentice, shall bear and behave himself towards his said Master ~~and Mistress~~ during the full Term of five Years and four months Commencing as aforesaid.

AND THE SAID Benj^a Gott for himself Doth Covenant Promise, Grant and Agree unto, and with him said Apprentice in Manner and Form following, THAT IS TO SAY, That he will teach the said Apprentice, or cause him to be Taught by the best Ways and Means that he may or can, the Trade, Art or Mystery of a Physician according to his own best skil and judgm't (if said Apprentice be capable to learn) and will Find and Provide for and unto said Apprentice, good and sufficient meat Drink washing and lodging During said Term both in sickness and in health — his Mother all said Term finding said apprentice all his Cloathing of all sorts fitting for an Apprentice during said Term; and at the End of said Term, to dismiss said Apprentice with Good skill in arithmetick Lattin and also in the Greek through ye Greek Grammer.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, The said Parties to these present Indentures have interchangeably set their Hands and Seals, the Eighth Day of January — In the seventh Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord George ye second by the Grace of God, ~~King~~ of Great Britain, France and Ireland; And in the Year of Our LORD, One Thousand Seven Hundred and thirty three four —

Signed, Sealed and Delivered

in Presence of

JOHN MEAD

ELISABETH WOODS

HOLLISTER BAKER

BENJ^a WOOD

BENJ^a GOTT



Seals

¹ The words "so long as his Master lives of said Term" are interlined.

[Endorsement]

MARLBOROUGH June 15 1734

Memorandum whereas I the subscriber Father to the said Holister Baker within mentioned being absent for about two years whereupon a credible Report was abroad of my Death &c. upon the said Report although false the said minor was Taken Care of as within written unto the said within written Indenture I consent and am well satisfied and Contented that the same be fulfilled by All parties as aforesaid In witness thereof I here set my hand and seal the Day and Year first above written. •

In Presence of

BENJ^A WOOD

JOHN MCCLEAVE

EBEN^A BAKERSeal

Baker's father, it will be noticed, turned up before the close of the indenture and consented to its terms. What became of Hollister Baker I have been unable to ascertain.¹

Returning to the instrument, Baker was bound with Dr. Gott "to dwell and serve." He agrees "his master and mistress honestly and faithfully to serve," not his master alone, but his mistress too. "Their reasonable commands he will everywhere gladly do and perform, and in all things as a good, honest and faithful servant and apprentice will bear and behave himself."

In short, his mother was to furnish his clothes and Dr. Gott his board and lodging and medical tuition, and in return he was to work his passage to his profession by serving the Doctor and Mrs. Gott for five years and four months, doing their chores, household and professional. Doctor Gott had served Dr. Wallis in the same way, and it was the custom of the day. There was no other method for a boy of ordinary means to enter the profession. The first medical school on the continent, that of Philadelphia, was not founded till 1765,² and even then a boy was required to pass one year in a doctor's office as an apprentice.

How I should like to see a letter from Baker describing his life.

¹ Presumably he was the "[C?] ollister Baker" who was baptized on March 1, 1720 (Vital Records of Marlborough, p. 15).

² The Philadelphia Hospital, the first in this country, was established in 1751. See Harrington, Harvard Medical School, i. 30, 31; Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia, ii. 1584, 1588.

I imagine Dr. Gott lived in a modest house in the village with his office in one of the front rooms, where he kept his instruments — what few he had — his little library and some store of medicines, for there could hardly have been a pharmacy in the small town. So he would have to keep on hand some stock of things he most needed, such as opium, antimony, Peruvian bark, mercury, nitre, sulphur, ipecac, and probably some collection of the native remedies in general use, such as elecampane, elder, yellow dock, slippery elm, anise, saffron, snake-root, and the rest, and among these emblems of his future calling, Baker very likely passed a good share of his time.

He would come down from his plain quarters in the attic early in the morning and start the fire while Mrs. Gott attended to the children, then he would go out and look after the Doctor's horse. Before breakfast would come family prayers, when, according to tradition, the Doctor used to read from his Latin Bible. After breakfast, he would saddle the Doctor's horse and bring him round to the front door, when his master would throw the saddle bags over his back, stuffed with such medicines or instruments as the morning's work required, and ride away to his patients. Then perhaps Hollister would sit down to his "arithmetick, Lattin and Greek grammer," possibly dipping into some of the medical books which adorned the Doctor's shelves.

After a midday dinner, perhaps the Doctor would take him to visit some patient in the village or send him on the old mare with remedies to some distant invalid, whom his master was unable to attend in person. And when the day's work was done, the Doctor would look after the boy's studies and impart to him some knowledge of that "art, trade and mystery," which the boy was anxious to grasp. If the Doctor was kind and his mistress gentle, the lad's life might be very pleasant and his father's confirmation of the indenture seems to imply it was so. I wonder what were his relations to the boys and girls of the village. Of course, he met them at church; did he belong to the singing-school? Did they go out together huckleberrying; did he sometimes tempt the wary trout from his hole; or fish through a hole in the ice for the impulsive pickerel?

What a contrast the life of this lonely boy bears to the medical student of to-day, plunged in the whirl of city life, surrounded by the activities of a great class, enjoying the mysteries and sociabilities of a Greek letter fraternity, working in a richly endowed laboratory,

under the guidance of an army of distinguished scientists, and all this housed in a marble palace, such as poor Baker never dreamed of. It is a far cry from all this splendor of modern education to that solitary boy serving his master and mistress under a five-year indenture for his board, lodging, and tuition. But the old way had its offsets, for it brought him very close to his master's care and attention, and if the Doctor was a kind and sympathetic teacher, he could do wonders to guide and stimulate the struggling pupil.

Soon after the close of Baker's indenture, Mrs. Gott died, in 1740, leaving six young children. The Doctor married again, but his second wife died in 1745, leaving another infant on his hands. His own career was drawing to a close, and in 1751 he passed away in the prime of life, being only forty-five years old.

He died intestate, but the inventory of his administrators shows a handsome estate:

Personal property	£1445
Real estate at home	2060
" " " Housatonnuk	960
Book debts due	2071-9

The "Book debts" I fear were hopeless, but his library appears not to be included in the above inventory. Its pecuniary value was not large, but the remarkable number of historical and classical books in this collection — Horace, Virgil, Ovid, Cicero, and others — indicates a literary culture unusual in those days.

He left a host of mourning friends, some of whom testified to their sorrow by the following quaint obituary notice, published in the Boston News-Letter of August 1, 1751:

MARLBOROUGH, July 27. 1751

On the 25th deceased, and this Day was decently interr'd, Dr. Benjamin Gott, a learned and useful Physician and Surgeon: The Loss of this Gentleman is the more bewail'd in these Parts, as he was not only a Lover of Learning and learned Men, and very hospitable and generous; but as he was peculiarly faithful to his Patients, moderate in his Demands, and charitable to the Poor; a Character very imitable by all in the Faculty; and was taken off in the very Meridian of Life, being but in the 46th Year of his Age.

This memorial has about it the flavor of genuine feeling. Marlboro had indeed lost a faithful citizen and a good man.

Mr. WILLIAM C. LANE exhibited a manuscript volume recently acquired by Harvard College and spoke as follows:

I have brought, for inspection by members of the Society, a little leather-covered blank-book, measuring six by three and three-quarters inches, nearly all of the pages of which are occupied by the close and somewhat difficult handwriting of Ebenezer Turell, of the Harvard Class of 1721. The book was recently acquired by the Harvard Library, but nothing can be learned in regard to its history. On one fly-leaf is the inscription "E. Turelli Liber" and on another the name of Andrew E. Thayer.

Ebenezer Turell, by whom the book was doubtless written, graduated from College in 1721, and seems to have spent the next two or three years in Cambridge during his preparation for the ministry. He was invited to settle in Medford June 17, 1724, and was ordained over the church there November 25, 1724. His pastorate extended over a period of a little more than fifty-four years, his death occurring December 5, 1778. During the last four years of his life he had a colleague. His sister, Lydia, married Cornelius Thayer, which may account for the presence of the second name on the fly-leaf; but I have not identified its owner.

Beginning at one end of the volume, the first twenty-seven leaves are devoted to the thirteen successive numbers of what seems to have been a student periodical circulated in manuscript, at weekly or semi-weekly intervals, and modelled after Addison's Spectator. It is the earliest college production of the kind of which I have any information, and is entitled the "Telltale." The dates of the thirteen numbers extend from Saturday, September 9, to Wednesday, November 1, 1721. On the page opposite the beginning, lines from Virgil's Eclogues (II. 17), and from Ovid's Metamorphoses (II. 127), are inscribed:

O formose Puer, nimium ne crede colori.
Parce Puer stimulis, et fortius utere loris.

By Theophilus Evedropper.

It must be admitted that, on the whole, the "Telltale" is decidedly dry reading, and one is disappointed not to find in it more interesting

glimpses of contemporary college life. The substance of the successive numbers is given below, partly in abstract and partly by direct quotation.

Some account of a Paper call'd the Telltale begun in Colledge
Sep^t 1721 By &c

This paper was Entitl'd the
Telltale

or

Criticisms on the Conversation & Beheavour
of Schollars to promote right reasoning &
good manner.

No 1. Saturday Sep^t 9th 1721

The Preface.

Tis a common observation, he y^t remarks y^e Folly of others has his own severely remark'd upon. However *abjiciendus Timor quoties urget necessitas*. The shamfull impertinences & monstrous inconsistencies y^t daily perplex us must have their career obstructed by some seasonable animadversions w^{ch} (Divino anuente numine) shall be essay'd on the following Saturdays. Perhaps your enquiries will run more after my Person than the reason of my Discourses. But take this Caution. I am so envelop'd with clouds & vizards y^t the most piercing eye can[not] distinguish me from Stoughton's Hall. In this I am happy. What I intend is for the benefit of the Society & tho in some passages I may seem pritty facetious (w^{ch} erroneously call light & vain) It must be attributed to my natural constitution. I hope ther's no Gentleman (I know ther's none of worth) will be my antagonist in so laudable an undertaking. But if any man will appear so vain & foolish I defy his strength & Laugh att his attempt. I would propose and desire y^e Gentlemen of Witt & good Sense (of whom we have a considerable number) would unite in the Servasable affair & assume their rights in the other 5 Days. The time y^t would be taken up in this matter would not amount to above an hour in a week, & yet how great the advantage!

Sign'd Telltale

This Preface was left upon a pair of Stairs & Taken up by Somebody read & a new Superscription put to it w^{ch} occasion'd a letter from the Telltale to J L to whom the preface was Directed

as follows —

Sep. 11

Sir After the greatest respects paid to your excellent self I would humbly inform you that the Telltale Saturday Last was by some (too curious Person) open'd & read & a new covering & superscription adjoin'd. This Scrip I suppose will come under y^e same or a worse Fate. Ther's ground to Fear these weekly remarks won't reach your Pedestal without a better way of conveyance then is already found out. however I must make up for this till such a time as there be one. If you have any inclination for an epistolary correspondence with me you may deposit your Letters in that Famous tree call'd the Pliable Crotch on Monday Ev'ning. Whether you are thus dispos'd or no please to indicate by a line or two. Perhaps in time you may come to know who I am when like the Sun you send forth your swift & scattering Ray's dispersing those Clouds y^t Invelop'd me & Breaking the Vizards y^t obfuscate me.

But for the present Farewell

Yr^e Telltale

Never pretend to know me by my writing.

Upon this M^r J L left a Letter for the Telltale in y^e noted Tree to this Purpose.

To the worthy Gentleman whose Seal is the resemblance of Beacon Hill.

J. L. with elaborate protestations of gratitude, etc., declares that until a better "conveyance" is found he cannot be absolutely sure that all he receives is from the same hand. He therefore desists from writing until he is certified of this.

To this the Telltale replied that, so far as he could learn the letter that J. L. had received was indeed his own and that it had been "convey'd with that Secrecy as not to expose us." The first half of this letter is occupied with high-flown expressions in which references to quills plucked from sweet Gabriel's wing, the Cærulean Plains, Phoebus in his Meridian Glare, and Apollo's flaming Charriots are happily mingled, but which seem not to advance the plot of the story, if plot there may be said to be.

No. 2, Saturday, September 16, 1721, is headed with a Greek and a Latin motto after the manner of the English periodicals and contains a short disquisition on Conversation.

No. 3, Saturday, September 23, has for its subject Detraction, two letters from correspondents being given with introductory and supplementary remarks by Telltale.

At the close he adds:

Just before writing this Paper the Telltale thôt it convenient that he should be known to J L w^{ch} would be preventive of many enquiries & inconveniences.

No. 4, Wednesday, September 27, recounts a dream in which the writer meets a number of characters disputing of various subjects. Two fellows were quarrelling about Mrs. Kate, one contending that she was more beautiful than Venus, the other that she was an antidote against Matrimony. Two other persons resembling pickled Cucumbers were chattering upon themes of Predestination and Foreknowledge, which they understood as much about as they did of the Gregorian accounts. He next beheld four Fellows, with a Fury like that of Hercules in the midst of his enemies, pushing and shoving one another. One of these on being asked declared that two Men whom he mentioned said the steeple of the New Brick was not high enow. Two learned Physicians then appeared each bringing in a demonstration "the one proving that Transplanting the Small Pox was the safest Method, the other y^t it was the worst & most Pernitious." Then a company playing at "push pinn" for a wager was seen, but while they were disputing because one wished to change his Pinn claiming that its point was not so sharp as that of his mates, the writer awoke. He explains that he issues his paper on Wednesday instead of waiting till Saturday. "When 'tis my Fate, he says, to wander in the Land of forgetfullness & light of any thing worthy y^r Perusal I shall account it a Duty & Honour to communicate to you."

No. 5, Saturday, September 30, contains a vigorous attack on what would seem to be a rival sheet, "The Censure or Muster Roll."

In No. 6 (misnumbered 7), Wednesday, October 4, 1721, the writer describes a dream and the scenes in which he seems to find himself. With an invisible being, he conducts a dialogue in verse, the last couplet of which is:

•

The only Reason why youre, here conveyd
Is to Behold the Faults in Dress Display'd.

The paper proceeds as follows:

Immediately I beheld 6 youths Springing up from the Ground one after another w^{ch} I shall very briefly Discrib'd. The 1st was a Person of a very Dark & swarthy complexion in a Slovenly Dress with 7 patches & 5 sparks on his Face The 2^d appear'd with a Greesy Coat & orange colour'd Hair powdr'd to the Life.

The 3^d had a torn Gown & was beautify'd with a Paper Neckcloth The 4th was drest in a Silver button Coat, homspun Jacket & britches Yarn Stockings & Tatter'd Shoes — The 5th had his Head adorn'd with a horse Hair Periwigg with a Velvet Bag att y^e Bottom. The 6th came up with a pretty handsome sute of Cloaths, four Brass rings & 2 Pair of Pewter Buttons. No sooner had all the Persons enter'd the Stage but they finger'd those Parts of their Dress now discrib'd after a most ridiculous Manner. But whilst I was making very particular Observations on them some loud & unusual Noise beat an alarm on the Drum of my Ear (w^{ch} rousing my Drowsy Spirits) wak'd me.

Advertisement

Be it known to all Gentlemen who do me the honour to Transcribe my Papers that unless they transcribe them Verbatim (faults & all) their Liberty shall be retrench'd & they severly animadverted upon
Sign'd Telltale.

No. 7, Saturday, October 7, 1721, contains remarks on Flattery.

No. 8 Wednesday Oc 11-1721.

The Gods avert such plagues from Righteous men.

There [are] a number of Persons in Colledge who delight in nothing so much as in doing Mischief. This is what they call *clean, showing their Parts* &c. The great Number of these Persons adds to the Vexation. They are of very different inclinations & each of y^m has his particular Art wherin he excells. I was t'other Day in Company with some of them who go by the Name of Chair Lifters. These Cowards attack you while you are sitting in a Chair (a most defenceless Posture) flinging you to the Ground with Great Violence. For w^{ch} Sometimes you[r] Head, arms

and Posteriors curse them a fort night after. . . . There a[re] Divers other Troublesome Fellows of other Species . . . as rappers, clappers, Trippers, nippers, Thigh Duffers, Stroakers, Pokers, &c all of them when I have opportunity shall be satyrically animadverted upon."

A letter follows dated "Colledge Yard," mentioning four other species of *clean* fellows.

No. 9, Saturday, October 14, 1721, contains remarks on disputing and argument.

The remaining numbers are occupied in part with an account of the Telltale or Spy Club, which I suppose to have existed only in the imagination of the writer.

At the close of No. 10, October 18, is the following advertisement:

Taken upon Monday the 24 of Sept near the N W Corner of Harvard Colledge, the chief internal ornament of an asses Head The furniture deeply branded in several Places with these Letter (T F) if y^e owner think them worth coming for he may have them without further charges of the Colledge Scavenger.

In No. 11, October 21, is found the following passage:

Gentlemen. I would inform you y^t just before I left you I found out several Clubbs in Colledge w^{ch} I tho't properly fell under your animadversions — but had not opportunity to mention them. I think Now therefore my Duty by Epistle to inform you of y^m. I Discribe one to you att this Time viz The Mock Club. This Club consist of a Number of Persons Rawbon'd humpback'd & Monophthalmic, founded by one Biter a crazy old fellar in 1719. This Fellow was depriv'd of 12 Teeth. If any dispute the matter of Fact let Isaac Bobbin (for that [was] his name) open his mouth. This Club meets on Saturdayes & the first thing that has been done in [it] of late in their sessions is to read over the Telltale carrying on a Scene wherin is acted our honorable President M^r Evedropper & all the rest of the Spy Club Ordine quisque sua. This I can Swear I heard one of them say was done to revive Shakespear. The G—— forbid such Projects taking effect. These Monophthalmoi have several Factors in Colledge whom they secretly employ to inform the Schollars that they themselves are bloody sly Fellows and that keeping

one Eye shut is an Infallable characteristic of a Witt. If you Excuse this my Letter you shall receive an Account of some others shortly.

From my Grotto I subscribe
my Self yours for ever
not Headpeice but Sylvanus

Advertisement

Next Week I intend to give you a shortt account of the Telltale alias Spy Club — w^{ch} consists of these Six members

Telltale
Blablange
Sharpsights
Courage
Intelligence
Quick

No. 12, Saturday, October 28, 1721, is devoted to a statement of the rules of the Club, but on account of the present faintness of the writing, they are difficult to decipher completely. It may be learned, however, that the Club consisted of six members, was to meet monthly, and had six officers — a president or moderator, two judges, a clerk, a reader, and a treasurer; also that all the members of the Club were to assume a nickname by which they were to be called within the Club. The writer continues:

I shall now conclude this Paper with a list of those, who have formerly been or are now Present Members of the Club together with the Offices they have sustain'd or do sustain. Those which have (O) before them are old members y^t are gone off the Others are the Present Members

O Headpeice	President
O Right	Judge
Telltale	President
O Brains	Judge
Volubility	Reader
Blablange	Judge
Sharpsights.	Judge
O Carfull	Treasurer
Intelligence	Reader
Quick	Clerk
Courage	Treasurer

NB. Tho' you may not see the Benefit of this Paper at Present yet some time hence you'll find it to be a Key or explana to our Saturday's Negotiations.

Signd Telltale.

The last number, November 1, seems to contain remarks on the art of expression by gesture, and finishes with a letter from one "W. Faction," addressed to the Telltale and begging him to desist from further composition.

Beginning at the other end of the volume, the first fourteen pages are taken up with an "Argumentive dialogue concerning inoculation between Dr. Hurry and Mr. Waitfort," which closes with the inscription, "Compos'd about three weeks before I was inoculated."

Theres none but Cowards fear y^e Launce,
 Heroes receive y^e Wound
 With rapturous joy they Skip & Dance,
 While others hugg y^e Ground.

It is interesting to note, in connection with this, the following entry in the Medford Church records, April 26, 1730: "Mr. Turrell preached a sensible and timely discourse in favor of inoculation for the small-pox."

The "Dialogue on Inoculation" is followed by "An account of a Society in Har: Colledge," which proceeds as follows:

After several Essays to bring Something on foot y^t might as well profit as Divert, We att lenght so far agreed in October, 1722, as to draw up a Scheme of Proposals, the Summ of w^{ch} we will now present you withall.

1. That att certain Times as the Majority of the Subscribers present shall agree we will convene.
2. We will agree to whatsoever y^e Majority of the Subscribers shall vote.
3. That a Moderator shall be chosen once a month to regulate the affairs of the Society.
4. That a Discourse of about Twenty minuits be made att every Meeting by one of the Society on any Subject he pleaseth.
5. That any Difficulty may be propos'd to the Company & when propos'd, the company shall Deliver their Thôts upon It.

6. That there be a Disputation on Two or more questions att every Meeting, one part of the Company holding the Affirmative, the other the Negative part of y^e Question.

7. That whatsoever any of us shall meet with in our readings & Contemplations on any Subject that he can fairly think will be for the advancement of the Society, he shall communicate.

8. That we will be often Writing Epistles to the Society for the advancing Learning & the Methods of Pursuing it.

9. That if we see or hear of any Extraordinary Book, we will give y^e best account we can of it to y^e Society.

10. That the Moderator, upon resigning his office, shall make a speech to the Society concerning that office.

The Subscribers assented to the forgoing articles

N Rogers.

C Chauncey.

E Pemberton.

E Turell.

S Marshall.

J Taylor.

Oliver Peabody.

John Lowell

Isaac Greenwood	{ These Gentlemen since the erection. The 1 st in N ^r 1722. The next 2 in y ^e Spring. The next 2 in Sep ^r 1723. The last Oct ^r 1723.
N Hunting	
S White	
N Leonard	
J Davenport	
F Jerald	

These articles have been comply'd with, & in a great measure answer'd the Intention of them.

To prove w^{ch} we need only give you a brief Summary of our Records.

N R has read us 3 Lectures

- 1 Upon the Pleasures of Piety
- 2 Upon Virtue naturally leading to our happiness
- 3 Upon Justification

E P has read us 3 Lectures

- 1 On a Future State
- 2 On the Benefitt of Religion
- 3 On the Perfection of God's Knowledge

E T has read us 2 Lectures

- 1 Upon Light, a Phisico-Theological Discourse
- 2 Upon Providence.

S. M. read us 1 Lecture

On God's Wisdom & Power

J T has read us 3 Lectures

1 Upon the Unity of y^e Chh

2 Upon Scism

3 Upon the Shame & punishm^t of Sin

J L has read us 4 Lectures

Upon the Usfullness of Learning

Upon Transubstantiation & Predestination

Upon Prejudice

Upon the Majesty of God & his []

O P read us one Lecture

Upon the fear of God.

I G read us one Lecture

On the Progress of Philosophy

N H read us one Lecture

on Conversation

J D read us one Lecture

on Regeneration

N L read us one Lecture

Showing our Obligation to Obedience

Lectures 21

The questions y^t have been Discussed are these —

- 1 Whether Society's of Xtians are Oblig'd to pray together Morn & Eve
- 2 Whether the Souls of Brutes are Immortall?
- 3 Whether humane Souls are Equal
- 4 Whether Infants are contain'd in Parvo in semine Manium?
- 5 Whether sight is made by y^e reception of Species?
- 6 Whether sins of Ignorance will be imputed.
- 7 Whether the happiness of Heaven will be progressive.
- 8 Whether Heathens can be Sav'd according to the Terms of y^e Gospel.
- 9 Whether the Popish Uncton mention'd as they say in James is now to be Used
- 10 Whether the world will be anihilatd or only refined?
- 11 Whether it be Fornication to lye with ones Sweetheart (after Contraction) before marraige?
- 12 Whether Christ or Homodeus suffer'd?
- 13 Whether Forms of Prayer should be usd in Publick?
- 14 Whether we are oblig'd to bow att y^e Name of Jesus?
- 15 Whether a Preacher y^t has an Universall [?] call be oblig'd to accept?

- 16 Whether any Sin is Unpardonable
- 17 Whether there be any Infallable Judge of Controversies
- 18 Whether Infants can be saved according to the Terms of y^e Gospel
- 19 Whether a Deathbed repentance can be available according to y^e Terms of y^e Gospel
- 20 Whether there be any Standard of Truth
- 21 When may a Man be said to Lye
- 22 When may a Man be said to Extort
- 23 Whether the Term of Mans Life be immoveably fixt

Besides these Questions and the Lectures, we have had divers Collections of Letters bro't in & read for the benefitt of the Society by Several Members.

This is the Progress wee have made the first year.

October 1723 E T read a Lecture to show that it is a point of Prudence To prove & Try all Doctrines in Religion, w^{ch} was to serve as an Introduction to a Sett of Controversial Discourses agreed upon by the Society to be successivly carried, one every week.

Tw^{as} Disputed.

- 1 Whether any man can know or be fully assur'd of his Salvation.
- 2d meeting N R read a Lecture to prove y^e Being of a God against Atheists
- 2 Tw^{as} then Disputed What Original Sin was and whether Imputed?
- 3 Whether the Conversion was in a moment.
- 3d meeting J D read a Lecture against the Deists.
- Tw^{as} then Disputed
- 4 What an offence was?
- 5 What the Sin against y^e H. Ghost [was].
- 4th meeting J F J read a Lecture against the Papists.
- Tw^{as} Disputed
- 6 Whether Tythes ought to be given now a dayes
- 7 Wherin the Morality of the Sabbath consists.
- 5th meeting N L read a Lecture on y^e Divinity of X against y^e Arians.
- Tw^{as} then Disputed
- 8 Whether Peter denied X 3 or 4 Times.
- 6th meeting J L read a Lecture against the Quakers.
- Tw^{as} then Disputed
- 9 Whether anything was added or taken from the Scriptures.
- 7th meeting. J T read a Lecture on Baptism against y^e Antipaedo-baptists.

Tw'as then Disputed

10 Whether Everything y^t was in God is God.

This Night Jan 1724 we finished our first Scheme of Lectures w^{ch} were controversial. We agreed upon another, viz^t

1st That there be a Discourse made on the worship of God 2 Upon Prayer 3 On Singing 4 On Preaching 5 On baptism 6 On Ld Supper [7] On reading the Scriptures

This record covers seven closely written pages, and seems not to have been continued.

Of the members, the first nine on the list and the thirteenth (John Davenport), were members of the Class of 1721.¹ Hunting and White belonged to the Class of 1722, while Nathaniel Leonard was of the Class of 1719. The last member, "Jerald," whose initial may be read either J or F, was doubtless James Fitz Gerald of the class of 1723, who died in 1727.² In William Winthrop's annotated Triennial, the note against his name reads, "Chaplain to a Garrison at the Eastward, either Georges or Richmond. Ob. Dec. 21. 1727. at Ipswich." Nearly all the members became ministers. Nathaniel Rogers settled at Ipswich as colleague of his father; Charles Chauncy was minister of the First Church in Boston; Ebenezer Pemberton was pastor of the New Brick Church in Boston; Turell was settled in Medford, John Taylor in Milton, Oliver Peabody in Natick, John Lowell in Newburyport, Sylvanus White in Southampton, and Nathaniel Leonard in Plymouth. Samuel Marshall, Nathaniel Hunting, and John Davenport are the only ones who did not become ministers. Isaac Greenwood studied for the ministry and began to preach in London, but on Thomas Hollis's recommendation was made the first Hollis Professor of Mathematics in Harvard College, a position from which the Corporation, after he had served ten years, was compelled to displace him. John Davenport, at the time of his election, was a tutor in the College, but afterwards became a Boston merchant.

¹ This was the class which President Stiles of Yale University called "the learned class." Our associate, Mr. Franklin B. Dexter of the Yale University Library, in a letter to Mr. Henry H. Edes, writes that this phrase is pencilled in President Stiles's copy of the Harvard Triennial of 1776, now preserved in the Yale Library, and that certain members of the class are marked as "docti" and "doctissimi."

² I am indebted to our associate Mr. Julius H. Tuttle, of the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, for suggesting this identification.

Mr. EDES exhibited an original agreement dated 22 August, 1653, whereby certain inhabitants of Concord bound themselves to give five pounds annually for seven years to Harvard College, and spoke as follows:

The document¹ which I have brought for your inspection this afternoon, while of intrinsic interest to the descendants of the signers of it and to the alumni of Harvard College, possesses additional value because the Concord records before 1680 are fragmentary, many of them, according to tradition, having been burned in a fire which occurred in the house of Major Simon Willard, the first town clerk. The present obliging town clerk, Mr. Walter A. Carr, in response to my inquiry, writes that he has searched carefully the existing records "but can find nothing concerning such Agreement." I find no mention of this paper in Quincy's History of Harvard University, and Shattuck refers to it in a single paragraph:

In 1653, Concord subscribed £5 a year for 7 years, for Harvard College.²

This action of the town and church of Concord was doubtless inspired by that of the Legislature in the previous year, under date of 19 October, 1652:

A DECLARATION concerning the advancement of learning in New England by the Generall Courte. If it should be graunted that learning, namely, skill in the tounoges and liberall artes, is not absolutely necessary for the being of a comon-wealth and churches, yett wee conceive that, in the judgment of the godly wise, it is beyond all question not only laudable, but necessarje for the wellbeing of the same; and although New England (blessed be God) is competently furnished (for this present age) with men in place, and vppon occasion of death or otherwise, to make supply of magistrates, associates in Courts, phisitions, and officers in the comon-wealth, and of teaching elders in the churches, yett for the better discharge of our trust for the next genneration, and so to posteritje, being the first founders doe weare away apace, and that it growes more and more difficult to fill places of most eminencje as they are emptje or wantjng; and this Courte, findeing by mannifest experjence that though the nnumber of

¹ It is written on a small folio sheet of four pages, 15½ by 6 inches. Pages 2 and 3 are blank.

² History of Concord (1835), p. 45.

schollers at our colledge doth encrease, yett as soone as they growe vpp ready for publicke vse, they leave the countrje, and seeke for and accept of jmployment elsewhere, so that if tjmely provition be not made, it will tend much to the disparagement, if not to the ruine of this comonwealth, it is therefore ordered, and heereby enacted by this Court, that a voluntary collection be comended to the inhabitants of this jurisdiccōn for the raising of such a sōme as maybe jmployed for the majntenance of the præsident, certajne ffellowes, and poore schollers in Harvard Colledge, and for that purpose doe further order, that euery toun of this jurisdiccōn doe choose one meete person to take the voluntary subscriptions of such as shall vnderwrite any sōme or sōmes of money for that purpose, and to make retourne thereof to the next Courte; and forasmuch as all the collonjes are concerned therein, this Courte doth order the secretarje to signifie to the Gouverno^r of the seuerall colonjes our endeavo^r heerein, and to comend the same vnto them for their helpe and furtherance in so good a worke.¹

The Colony Records do not preserve the "retourne" which was ordered to be made "to the next Courte." Perhaps it was not made because of the failure of many towns to obey the order of 19 October, 1652, as appears by the action of the Assembly on 18 October, 1654:

Whereas wee cannot but acknowledg the great goodnes of God towards his people in this wildernes in raysing vp schooles of learning, and especially the colledge, from whence there hath sprung many vsefull instruments, both in church and comon-wealth, both to this and other places, and whereas at present the worke of the colledge haue binn seuerall wajes obstructed, and seemes yett also at present, for want of comfortable mainenance for the encouragement of a president, this Court taking the same into theire serjous considera^cōn, and finding that though many propposicōns haue binn made for a voluntary contribution, yett nothing haue binn hitherto obtained from seuerall psons and tounes, although some haue donne very liberally and freely, and fearing lest wee should shew ourselves vngratefull to God, or vnfaithfull to posteritje, if so good a seminary of knowledg and virtue should fall to the ground through any neglect of ours, itt is therefore ordered by this Court and the authoritje thereof, that, besides the proffit of the ferry formerly graunted to the colledg, w^{ch} shall be contjnewed, that there shall be yearly levjed, by additjon to the countrje rate, on hundred pounds, to be pajd by the Treasurer of

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. part i. 100, 101.

the countrje to the colledg treasurer, for the behoofe and majntenance of the president and fellowes, to be distributed betweene the president and fellowes according to the determination of the ouerseers of the colledg, and this to continew during the pleasure of the countrje; and itt is heereby ordered, that no man shall stand ingaged to pay his voluntary contributjon that he hath vnderwritt by virtue of this Courts propposition, and that such persons as haue already donn voluntarily shall be considered for the same in the countrje rate such a proportion as this addition of one hundred pounds doe add to the rate, to be allowed by the counstable to each person, and by the Treasurer to the counstable.¹

The text of the Agreement follows.

An agreeemt made and agreed vpon by the towne and Church
of Concord concerning the Colledge att ² Cambridge,
made Aug. 22. 1653.

It is agreed by the company of the sayd towne and church, to giue yearly the sume of fiue pounds for the vse of the sayd Colledge to be leauyed vpon the same towne after the same manner as the other rates are leauyed, and to be payd in att or before the last of y^e moneth of May. the sayd yearly sume of 5^l to continue for the space of seuen yeares, and then to be ether renewed if we it shall appeare that it may be improved for good, or otherwise we to be att libertye to doe according to the state of things then being. And for the terme of seuen yeares aforesayd, the sayd towne of Concord doth desire that this order may be recorded in the court, and confirmed by the autoritye of the same. Jn wittnes of our consent hereto, we haue hereto sett our handes, the day and yeare aboue written.

Pet: Bulkeley

John Miles

Simon Willard

Thomas ffoxe

Timothy wheler

Richard R R Rice his marke

Robert Meriam

Thomes Hincksmen ³

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. part i. 205. See also *ibid.* vol. iv. part i. 179, 186; Publications of this Society, iii. 417-425.

² Substituted for "and."

³ I am indebted to Mr. William Prescott Greenlaw, a descendant of the Rev. Peter Bulkeley, for deciphering this very obscure signature. Although not mentioned by Shattuck in his History of the town, Maj. Thomas Hinchman, Hinchman, or Hincksmen, was among the early inhabitants of Concord who removed to Chelmsford, which was settled soon after the date of the Agreement in the text. He is also said to have been one of the "Wenham company" who under the leadership of the Rev. John Fiske, and as members of his church in Wenham, transplanted themselves to Chelmsford, where Allen says he "was for many years a

An agreement made by and agreed upon by the
 town and parish of Concord concerning the
 College and bridge, made Aug 11 1683
 It is agreed by the company of the lords of the parish of Concord, to
 give yearly the sum of five pounds, to be levied upon
 the house of the parish, the same manner as the other to be
 levied, and the same to be paid by the parish of Concord, to the
 use of the college, the sum of five pounds, to be levied upon
 for the space of seven years, and then to be other to
 renew if we is not agreed that it will be imposed for
 good, or otherwise we to be at liberty to do according to
 the state of things then being And for the terms of seven
 years ensuing, the first house of Concord shall pay other
 year be recorded in the court, and confirmed by the court
 by of the same. In witness of our agreement, we have
 here set our hands, the day and year above said

Let. B. 1683

Simon Willard

Timothy Wadsworth

Robert Mearns

Thomas Wadsworth

Robert Mearns

Robert Fletcher

George Wadsworth

John Wadsworth

John Wadsworth

John Wadsworth

Sept

Simon Willard

William Bicknell

Thomas Wadsworth

George Wadsworth

Robert Mearns

Robert Fletcher

[illegible]

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Agreement of the Town and Church of Concord in aid, Harvard College 1853
 'imposed for, The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
 from the original in the possession of Mrs. Susan M. Willard and Mrs. Frederic Willard

Thomas T Brooks mark	wilt busse
Joseph wheller	John Jones
Robert Fletcher	Willame Talier
Georg wheler	Thomas Deene
william W woods mark	Moses wheate
James Hosmer	William vnder wood ¹
John Smedly	Thomas Stow
Thomas wheeler	Thomas Brown
Luke Potter	Joseph Mirriam
Thomas Bateman	Obadia wheeler
Geo: Heaward.	Thomas Dakeyn
Joshua Edmands	Henry woodis
Baptist O Smedleyes mark.	James Blood
John Scoothford.	William Butterick
William Hunt	Nathaniell Ball
Henry Farwell	Humphrey Barat
Michael Wood	Geß Meriam

[Filed]

Concord

5^t p anll for

7 years

[Filed]

Colledg Collection

5^t p & for 7 yeares

Mr. JAMES K. HOSMER, a Corresponding Member, spoke as follows:

The paper exhibited to the Society is of considerable, perhaps unique, interest. It belonged to the late Joseph Willard, who valued it much as a memorial of his ancestor, Major Simon Willard, a leader

leading character, and became a large land holder." Savage says that Maj. Henchman died 18 July, 1703. See Colony Records, vol. iv. part i. 251, 261, 431, 432, 441, 460, vol. iv. part ii. *passim*, and vol. v. *passim*; Province Laws, i. 93, 406; Wilkes Allen, History of Chelmsford (1820), pp. 8, 16, 21, 27, 106, 122, 148, 149, 152, 154, 156-158, 162, 163, 166-170; Savage, Genealogical Dictionary of New England, ii. 403.

¹ William Underwood also removed to Chelmsford, of which he was one of the first settlers, and a selectman in 1679. Other signers of this Agreement cast in their lot with the founders of Chelmsford.

in founding the town of Concord and in many other colonial enterprises. The document comes from a time when Harvard College was in great straits. Action was taken by the General Court, as the records of that body show, to relieve the embarrassment. The towns were enjoined to contribute, an admonition generally but not always heeded. Lists of donations show Concord as among the towns contributing; and no doubt the vote of which we have here preserved the minute was the immediate cause of the donation. Remembering that money had in that day possibly eight times its present value, the gift of Concord to the distressed college was not insignificant.

The fact that on the paper are inscribed the autographs or marks of the substantial men of the town in 1653 has great interest. Of most of those ancient freemen this is presumably the sole existing relic. The blood of two of them at least, Peter Bulkeley and James Hosmer, flows I suppose in my veins, and I contemplate reverently the signatures set down here so long ago by their good right hands. In the case of many of these forty men undoubtedly there have been descendants who enjoyed the advantages of the institution which the fathers thus sought to uphold. It would be interesting to know how many such descendants could be made out.

It is also worth while to note that the names here set down of the Concord freemen of 1653 are to a large extent the same names that appear to-day in Concord affairs. The old stock persists and remains dominant. The same thing is true to a remarkable extent in Massachusetts communities in general. In the Connecticut valley the families one hears of are in large part derived from and bear the names of the original settlers; and even in Boston the names dominant to-day may be traced in great numbers in the shipping-lists of the immigrants that came in in the first twenty years of the Colony. Old New England has sent multitudes to the West: it has been modified again and again, often no doubt to its great enrichment, by stock not kindred,—Huguenot, Scotch-Irish, Irish, Canadian French, Portuguese, and Italian. But still the children of the twenty thousand English, who, as Palfrey tells us, between 1620 and 1640, established the original New England, are in the forefront of life, sound in head, heart, and body, ready as ever for the world's work.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS exhibited photographs of portraits by Sir Peter Lely of Sir Matthew Holworthy and Lady Holworthy, and a manuscript pedigree of the Holworthy family, stating that he was indebted for these to the courtesy of Mr. Frederic M. R. Holworthy of Bromley, Kent, England. The Lady Holworthy depicted was a daughter of Henry Henley and the third wife of Sir Matthew Holworthy.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1909

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 25 February, 1909, at three o'clock in the afternoon. In the absence of the President, Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS was called to the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

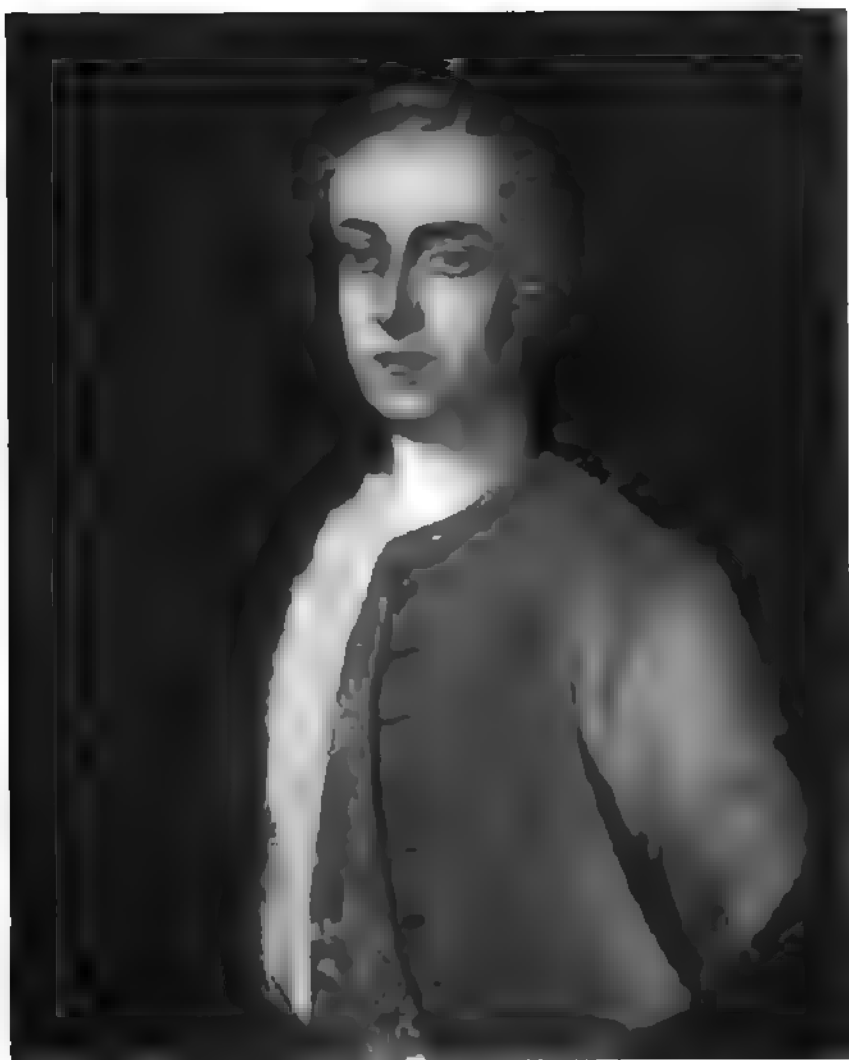
The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY *pro tempore* reported that letters had been received from Mr. WILLIAM LOWELL PUTNAM of Manchester and Mr. HAROLD MURDOCK of Brookline accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. JAMES K. HOSMER, a Corresponding Member, spoke as follows:

THE DEBT OF MASSACHUSETTS TO THOMAS HUTCHINSON.

Some twenty-five years since, while writing a life of Samuel Adams, I came first to an understanding of his great opponent Thomas Hutchinson. It was impossible to portray Sam Adams without sketching at the same time the figure with whom he was locked in his famous wrestle, — a figure overwhelmed with obloquy from that day to this, but whom we are coming to recognize as a wise statesman and a benefactor of his country.

The American idea is that in any Anglo-Saxon community Abraham Lincoln's "plain people" can and ought to govern themselves. "Some men are fools all the time; all men are fools sometimes; but all men are not fools all the time." Here we have a margin, narrow perhaps, but wide enough to give a basis for popular government.



Thomas Hutchinson

*Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from the original by Edmund Truman
in the possession of the
Massachusetts Historical Society*

Emerson, in his essay on Politics, quoted approvingly Fisher Ames as saying that monarchy was a trim ship, which sails well and may carry you in comfort; but then, it may strike a rock, when all goes to pieces at once; whereas democracy is like a raft; the discomforts are great; your feet are always in the water; but it will always float and carry you somehow. But when all has been said that can be said against democracy, put it side by side with aristocracy or monarchy and it will bear the comparison well; its crimes and blunders are no greater than those of its rivals, and there are compensating advantages. America has been willing to commit herself to this idea. This was not the idea of Thomas Hutchinson. He was a man of the middle of the eighteenth century, and by our standards un-American. King, Lords, and Commons, the old triple-pillared polity of Britain was good enough for him. To the masses he would give only limited power conditioned on qualifications of education and property. Matthew Arnold's doctrine of the "remnant" — that in any society the guiding reins must be in the hands of a select few in order to a good result — would have seemed wise to him. So had thought Pym and Hampden, a century before; so thought Pitt, Burke, Mansfield, his contemporaries; Hutchinson was in good company; no doubt there are many even in America who see wisdom in Matthew Arnold's doctrine of the remnant, and who sail only with trepidation upon the raft to which our society is committed.

Born in 1711, Thomas Hutchinson, nurtured in such theories as have been described, reached manhood, and at twenty-five, having married, and in accordance with the puritanism he always professed joined the church, became selectman of Boston, thus entering upon a career of public service unbroken until the year 1774. He spent a decade in the Assembly, during three terms holding the place of speaker. Proceeding thence to the Council he became there a leading spirit. In the judicial field he was judge of probate, justice of the common pleas, and at length chief-justice. He filled finally the executive positions of lieutenant-governor and governor. He held in fact almost every conspicuous public office in the Province, several of them at one and the same time, — a fact which gave rise to accusations of rapacity and place-hunting, when toward the end his popularity waned. Since there were no emoluments connected with these offices, the pay even when it came being the merest pittance, and since

curse came to the public servant more often than blessings, it is more reasonable to describe Hutchinson's motive as a fine public spirit other than anything lower. An ample private estate made him free to serve the Province; this he did long and unremittingly, until disfavor overtook him and he was at last driven out of the country.

Looking at the manner in which Hutchinson performed his public work, first, what can be said of him as a legislator? He was busy in all ways, but finance was the field in which he was especially a master; and his greatest feat here was the restoration, in 1749, of the currency of Massachusetts to a hard money basis. John Adams no doubt had this transaction in mind, when in 1809 he declared Hutchinson to have been the best financier he had ever known. For fifty years Massachusetts had been given over to issues of irredeemable paper which had reduced the Province almost to a condition of paralysis. The infatuation, at first moderate, became wide-spread and eager; issue followed issue, the neighboring colonies became infected with the same craze, circulating their bills in Massachusetts; the remedies to relieve the embarrassment proved worse than the disease until the evil could scarcely be more acute.

Hutchinson's method, completely successful, of affording relief was as follows: Louisburg, on the Island of Cape Breton, was captured from the French in 1745 mainly through the efforts of Massachusetts; and the success being important, in recognition of what the Province had done, the British government indemnified the Province for its expenses, sending over in hard money one hundred and eighty thousand pounds. What should be done with the money? Hutchinson, speaker of the Assembly, put forward a plan which at first excited only ridicule. The irredeemable paper of the Province, at that time in circulation, amounted to between two and three million pounds, so far depreciated that eleven or even twelve pounds of it were equal to only one pound sterling. The indemnity therefore, if applied to taking up the scrip, would cancel nearly the whole, and this was what Hutchinson suggested. He was opposed almost unanimously. The large debtor class, strongly represented in the Assembly, clung to the currency as it was, while the wiser and more scrupulous hard money men found mysterious calamities from the "shock" in their opinion sure to result from the sudden change. Hutchinson stood almost alone, and better evidence cannot be adduced as to his

weight of character and wisdom than that he swung the Province slowly round to his view. His plan was adopted: the indemnity, for the most part in the form of Spanish milled dollars, arrived and was at once applied; a state of prosperity succeeded the depression which wonderfully re-invigorated the Province, imparting indeed to a large extent the spirit and initiative which made Massachusetts the leader in the then imminent Revolution. Whether we look at the immense result that followed, or at the force and astuteness with which the great measure was achieved, no more memorable feat of statesmanship was performed in America's provincial period than the restoration, in 1749, of the Massachusetts currency to a sound basis.

Taking up now Hutchinson's judicial work, we find uncontradicted evidence that as judge of probate he was careful and humane, retaining the office when it was only an embarrassment because he thought he could help the fatherless and the widow; that as a justice of the common pleas he was exemplary; while as chief-justice he won distinction which is not yet forgotten. Governor Emory Washburn commends¹ in strong terms the judicial ability and services of Hutchinson, and it seems probable at the present time that few men indeed have sat in that high place more dignified, more conscientious, or better endowed and equipped. In general he greatly invigorated in the Province the administration of justice.

While busy thus in public ways, Hutchinson yet found time to write a *History of Massachusetts Bay* which stands in early New England literature as one of its most memorable achievements, and remains to-day one of the most important sources. With this Society no authority will weigh more than Mr. Charles Deane, who declares the *History of Massachusetts Bay* to have the highest value, proving Hutchinson's mind to have been a judicial one, full of candor, moderation, and a desire for truth.² As an historian he had great limitations. The position of Clarendon in the English Revolution, as active protagonist and at the same time describer for posterity of the events in which he moved, was similar to that of Hutchinson a century later; but the American had little of the power of his English prototype in depicting the characters of his fellow-strivers. A century later Hutchinson's townsmen, Prescott, Motley, and Parkman, exhibited almost

¹ *Sketches of the Judicial History of Massachusetts*, p. 304.

² *1 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, iii. 147.

unequaled skill in making vivid the events which it fell to them to treat. With these, too, the old Governor makes no good comparison. His work unquestionably is dull; Hawthorne pronounced it scarcely endurable. But his substantial merits are not to be belittled. He imparts a vast body of information accurately gathered from sources to a considerable extent no longer existing, in a form of presentment which, if it has few purple patches, is certainly clear and impartial; in the third volume, which is the story of his own downfall, the cool poise and absence of unworthy acrimony mark him as in a high degree magnanimous.

It was particularly in his executive capacity that Hutchinson became involved in the calamities resulting finally in his exile and ruin. He became lieutenant-governor in 1758, governor not until 1771; but since Pownall and Bernard, in turn his chiefs, were each for a portion of their terms out of the country, he was in the fore-front for some years while nominally only the second officer. Of the efficiency of his administrative work in general there was no question. The welfare of Massachusetts Bay was well looked after in all respects save one, — its relations with the mother-country. Here the chief magistrate and the people fell into sad disagreement, and it is proper to note with care the position of the Governor. He was first, last, and always an opponent of independence, regarding a separation of the colonies from the mother country as a certain misfortune for England and a still worse misfortune for America. Here he was wrong, but few men in the colonies felt otherwise close up to the year 1776. While America then became free, her people casting off the old ties, Hutchinson remained a British subject and anticipated destruction for his country, which now turned its back upon him. While Hutchinson felt a schism to be deplorable, he would, could he have arranged matters, have provided for an almost complete freedom in the dependency as regards its own affairs. After recognizing a supremacy in the government of England, which, however, was to act only in imperial affairs; each colony was to be left to itself, taxation and legislation in general to be cared for without interference from over sea. The mother-country was to remain in the background, a presence benign but always unobtrusive, never interfering with colonial management except when some great peril threatened the whole empire, or some great general interest was to be advanced. The relation

in fact which Hutchinson advocated was no other than the one which exists to-day between England and her dependencies, — a relation under which the British empire has had a prosperity almost unparalleled, and under which the great subordinate states, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the Cape of Good Hope have remained warmly loyal in their allegiance to the British crown. That Hutchinson should have contended for such a scheme as early as he did, anticipating in his thought the statesmen of the old country, marks him as possessed of high political genius.

Separation, however, came and few in the United States will now say that it was anything but fortunate. Instead of breathing an atmosphere of provincialism we are environed and permeated by the fine stimulus which comes from being citizens of perhaps the mightiest nation in the world. But many a man of our blood thinks to-day that the Anglo Saxon schism was unfortunate and should have been avoided. Certainly it was entirely reasonable that Hutchinson in his time should have taken that position. Having taken it he adhered to it consistently and with manful courage. In 1765, although opposing the Stamp Act, his house was destroyed and his life threatened by a ruthless mob. In 1770 he incurred odium at the time of the Boston Massacre; but his contention that he had no power to order out of Boston the British troops whom the government had stationed there was entirely legal; the disposition of the troops belonged not to him but to the British commander-in-chief. Samuel Adams has always been held to be the special hero in that critical hour, but the conduct of Hutchinson, too, was heroic. When he stood for law and order, in the east balcony of the Old State House, the regiments kneeling in the blood-stained snow ready for street-firing on the one hand, and the townsmen on the other getting ready for battle, holding them apart by his personal force, at last sending the soldiers back to their barracks and the populace to their homes pending the decision of the matter in a properly ordered trial, it was a noble maintenance in the midst of peril of his magisterial duty. In 1773, at the time of the Tea Party, though abhorring the tax scarcely less than did the Sons of Liberty, it was his plain duty as Governor to stand as he did against the riot. Why, it may well be asked, if he disapproved the policy of the government, did he remain in office, consenting to and enforcing a policy he did not approve? This was the reason: he kept hoping that he might

bring the British government to take a wiser view. He had reason for his hope, for several eminent statesmen in England were of his way of thinking. He kept hoping that he might induce the town of Boston to forbear until better counsels should prevail across the water. Here, too, he had reason to hope; with his great influence he came near indeed to carrying the day. He was foiled at last, and the record of the breaking down of Hutchinson is one not creditable to the Boston patriots. The story of the Hutchinson Letters is a long one, and has been told elsewhere by the writer of this paper.¹ By indirect and underhand means his opinions and character were put in a false light before the unreasoning masses. The best that can be said for the patriot leaders who managed the affair is that they probably had come to feel in the passion of the moment that Hutchinson was the devil and must be fought with his own fire.²

In 1773 Hutchinson was quite borne down; but discredited though he was and about to depart into exile from which he was never to return, there was important work to be done for the Province which could be trusted only to his skilful and experienced management. From his young manhood he had had a main hand in settling the boundaries of the Province, — first, on the side of New Hampshire, then on the side of Rhode Island and Connecticut. A critical and long continued dispute about the western boundary remained to be adjusted with the province of New York, a rival much more difficult to deal with than the smaller New England colonies. Already commissioners had met and after stormy discussion parted without deciding. Now again a Massachusetts commission, with Hutchinson at the head and Joseph Hawley and John Hancock among the subordinate members, met at Hartford. Governor Tryon, Robert R. Livingston, and other New York men, resolved on another attempt. Again the debate was earnest: Hutchinson's associates were ready to accept the New York demand that the western line of Massachusetts should be the Hoosac mountains. Through his persistency it came about that the line was run instead twelve miles east of the Hudson River, thereby securing for Massachusetts the beautiful county of Berkshire. Hutchinson's associates cordially recognized that the credit for the arrangement was due to him, and on the return of the

¹ Life of Thomas Hutchinson, chap. xii.

² See G. E. Ellis, in *Atlantic Monthly*, liii. 662.

commission to Boston there occurred a manifestation quite extraordinary. The Assembly, without looking at Hutchinson's report, authorized its instant transmission to the King, such a mark of confidence as had perhaps not before been shown, — this at a time when the recall of Hutchinson was about to be demanded as a magistrate unfaithful to his trust.

The old Governor sailed out of Boston harbor June 1, 1774, exiled never to return. The west wind that filled the sails probably bore to his ears the sound of the bells tolling at the closing of the harbor by the Boston Port Bill, the penalty that the town had brought upon itself by the Tea Party. He expected confidently to return, but the return never came. His private fortune was confiscated; his family and friends, the Tories in general, were driven out. But for his pension he might have died a pauper. Before he died he saw the independence of the Thirteen Colonies practically established, for them in his honest but short-sighted view a great calamity. England, moreover, shorn of its best dependencies, in unsuccessful war with France and Spain, seemed a broken power. While outwardly shattered, disaffection was working at her heart. While Hutchinson lay dying, in June, 1780, the Gordon riots appeared likely to lay London in ashes. Meantime, his private afflictions were great. The careers of his two elder sons were ruined, his younger son and his two daughters sank at his side into premature graves. In his latest consciousness overwhelming catastrophe appeared to be involving everything he most valued and loved. Indeed, it is pathetic that such a death should have come to a man so honorable, so long and so ably serviceable!

Will a time ever come when Massachusetts will make proper amends to Thomas Hutchinson? Hutchinson Street in Boston discarded his name in scorn and became Pearl Street; Hutchinson town, in Worcester county, rejecting the title, hastened to become Barre. A truer judgment is coming to prevail concerning this worthy who in his day so promoted the greatness and honor of Massachusetts. It is confined, however, to the studious few. There is no memorial in the land he so loved and served to show that such a man ever lived, and no acknowledgment has ever been made that a great public benefactor has been treated with ingratitude.

These remarks led to a discussion in the course of which the CHAIRMAN emphasized Hutchinson's sound financial views and his services in putting the monetary system of the Province on a firm basis.

Mr. WILLIAM T. PIPER stated that a field containing ten acres at Milton called "Governor Hutchinson's Field" was given to the Trustees of Public Reservations in 1898 and that a description of it and the circumstances of the gift, together with some information prepared by our associate Mr. Charles S. Rackemann, may be found in the Report of the Trustees for that year.¹

Mr. WILLIAM C. LANE spoke of Governor Hutchinson as a loyal son of Harvard College, and presented two extracts from the College Archives illustrating his friendly relations with the College, remarking, —

The first extract is from the records of the Corporation in 1771, when Hutchinson, having lately received his appointment as Governor in Chief, was invited by the Corporation to dine in the College Hall in Cambridge. The record reads as follows:

At a Meeting of the Corporation of Har. Coll. 19 March 1771.

Voted

Lieut. Gov^r Hutchinson having lately rec^d a Commission appointing him Cap^t Gen^l and Gov^r in Chief over this Province, It is thot proper, according to the Usage of the College to invite his Excellency to dine with the Corporation at the College on such day as shall be agreeable to him —

That The Hon^{ble} and Rev^d the Board of Overseers be invited to dine with the Corporation in Company with his Excellency in the Coll. Hall on said day. And

In Case the Gen^l Court be setting on that day, that the Speaker & Hon^{ble} House of Representatives be invited also to dine with the Corporation in Company with his Excellency in the College Hall on the said day.

Thursday Mar. 28th 1771 — The Corporation waited upon his Excellency the Governor with the following Address

¹ See Eighth Annual Report, pp. 14-15; Tenth Annual Report, pp. 19-20. A photograph of the field accompanies both Reports.

To his Excellency Thomas Hutchinson Esq^r Captain General and Governor in chief of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay

May it please your Excellency

The President & Fellows of Harvard College wait upon your Excellency to congratulate you on your Appointment to the first Chair of Government in this Province.

It reflects an honor on the College, that one of its sons, after having sustained, with great Dignity and Reputation, a Variety of public Offices, is advanced by the King to this high station.

Your Excellency's thorough Acquaintance with the Advantages of Literature; The affectionate Regard you have expressed for this Seat of Learning; and the important Services you have rendered it, afford us the pleasing Prospect that we shall find in your Excellency a Patron & a Friend, ever ready to protect the Rights and promote the Interests of a Society, founded by our Fathers on the most catholic Plan, & upon which the Welfare of the Community greatly depends.

It shall be our constant Endeavor, that the Youth committed to our Care may be taught all due Submission to Government, as well as the Principles of Civil & Religious Liberty.

We devoutly implore the great Governor of the Universe, to direct and succeed your Excellency's Administration; and make it honorable to yourself & happy to this People.

To which his Excellency was pleased to return the following Answer,
Gentlemen

I return you my sincere and hearty thanks for your Address, which expresses so much Duty & Loyalty to the King, so much Kindness and Respect to me

My Services for the College have fallen short of my Desire and Endeavors.

This public Notice of them by the Corporation is very obliging.

I am bound to embrace every Opportunity, & to improve every Advantage which my present Station may afford for the Encouragement of this eminent Seat of Learning, w^{ch} has been of such signal Use to the Province in Civil as well as religious regards.

April 4th 1771.

This Day his Excellency the Governor was pleased to visit the College in Compliance with the Invitation of the Corporation.

His Excellency with his Honor the Lieutenant Governor,¹ & the Honorable his Majesty's Council, in their Carriages, attended by the Sheriff² of the County of Suffolk, & a Detachment of the Troop of Guards set out from the Province House in Boston, in Procession, and were received at the County Line by the Sheriff³ of the County of Middlesex, and the principal Gentlemen of the Town of Cambridge in their Carriages. At the Steps of Harvard Hall, his Excellency was received & congratulated by the President, Fellows Professors & Tutors in their Habits — In the Philosophy Chamber he was met & welcomed by the Honorable & Reverend Overseers.

The Chapel not being large enough to accommodate the Gentlemen who were present on this Occasion, & the Members of the Society; His Excellency, with the Lieutenant Governor, the Overseers, Corporation, Officers of the College, & the other Gentlemen, went in procession from Harvard Hall to the Meeting House, preceded by the students of the College, Graduates & Undergraduates.

The General Court being then sitting in the College, a Committee of the Corporation waited on the Honorable House of Representatives to ask their Attendance on the Exercises of the Day. Which Invitation they were pleased to accept off.

The public Exercises began with a handsome Gratulatory Oration in Latin pronounced by William Wetmore A.B.⁴ To this his Excellency made an elegant Reply in the same Language, testifying his Affection to the Seminary in w^{ch} he had his Education, & his Regard to the Interests of Literature.

Then followed an Anthem, composed set to Music & performed by some of the students

The Words of the Anthem.

We have heard with our Ears, O Lord, and our Fathers have told us of thy Might! Thy Wonders which thou didst of Old; how thou didst drive out the Heathen from among them!

For they got not their Land by their own Sword; but it was thy right hand, thine Arm, & the Light of thy Countenance!

O Praise the Lord forever & ever

— How blessed are all they that fear the Lord & walk in his Ways, for thou shalt eat the Labor of thine Hands. — O well is thee, & happy shalt thou be.

¹ Andrew Oliver.

² Stephen Greenleaf.

³ David Phips.

⁴ Of the Class of 1770.

Lo! thus shall the Man be blessed that fears the Lord. For thus saith the Lord, from henceforth, behold all Nations shall call thee blessed; for thy Rulers shall be of thine own kindred; your NOBLES shall be of yourselves, & thy GOVERNOR shall proceed from the midst of thee.

Awake! Awake! Put on thy Strength, O Zion, — break forth into Joy with Hallelujah! for the Lord hath redeemed his People.

Blessing, & Glory, Salvation and Wisdom, Thanksgiving and Honor and Power & Might, be unto the Lord God Almighty, who sitteth on the Throne, and unto the Lamb forever & ever Amen

Praise the Lord

When the Exercises were over, the procession returned to the Hall, where a genteel Entertainment was provided for his Excellency, the Honorable & Reverend Overseers — the Honorable House of Representatives, & the other Gentlemen. The Whole was conducted with the greatest Decorum and Elegance.¹

The second paper is a letter from Hutchinson to the Rev. Andrew Eliot,² a member of the Corporation, written from London and dated May 26, 1775.³ It is to be noted that at this date the news of the Battle of Lexington had not yet reached England. Captain Derby, who had been sent off by the patriot party in all haste, arrived in Southampton on May 27 and in London on the following day. The news was suppressed by the Ministry for some days, but Governor Hutchinson must have known it promptly. A letter from Edward Gibbon to Edward Eliot, afterwards Baron Eliot, dated May 31, 1775, states that he has heard from Hutchinson the particulars brought by Captain Derby.⁴

The volumes which Hutchinson says he is sending to the College Library cannot be identified with anything now existing in the Library, and it is altogether likely that they, as well as the objects intended for the Museum, never reached America.

¹ College Book, vii. 216-220.

² Of the Class of 1737.

³ The original is in Harvard College Papers, ii. no. 73.

⁴ This letter is printed in the *Magazine of American History* (1883), ix. 375.

LONDON ST. JAMES'S STREET 26. May 1775.

Sir

I have desired Col^o Dalrymple¹ to take with him two Folio and one Quarto Volumes, all which contain four different Translations of the Old Testament, and five of the New into the Latin Tongue. I have desired him to deliver them to you, for the College Library, hoping they may be acceptable and useful. I have seen two or three other Translations which I believe I can obtain.

I send likewise, for the Musæum, a small box containing a Fish converted into Chalk, which I brought from under a Chalk Cliff in Sussex, and was perfect, but, by handling, the Tail is broke off. It is a Sole, a Fish well known here for its delicate taste. There is also part of another, which, being dug into the belly, discovers the grain of the Fish. To some persons they will be curious. In the same box, there are two small pieces of cloth, made by the Otahitee Indians from the Rind or inner Bark of a Tree, and a long string of braided hair, which they work into Ornaments for their Foreheads. Omiah,² a Native now in England, gave them to me. I wish it may be in my power to evidence my attachment to the College, by something of greater value. I am

Sir Your most obedient

humble Servant

THO HUTCHINSON

Rev^d Doctor Eliot.

Mr. CHARLES F. MASON exhibited three original documents: (1) a parchment dated 14 January, 1655-56, bearing seven grants of land from the town of Medfield to John Bowers signed by Henry Adams; (2) a petition to the General Court dated 19 December, 1664, of Richard Norcross concerning books that had been stolen from the Watertown school by Indians; and (3) a report dated 16 August, 1667, of the committee appointed to investigate the expenditures of the Treasurer of the County of Middlesex, signed by Thomas Danforth, Hugh Mason, and William Stitson. These follow.

¹ Col. William Dalrymple.

² On July 17, 1774, Omiah was presented to George III, who recommended his being inoculated; and on August 25, having recovered from the small-pox, he dined with the Royal Society. He was still in England in 1775. See the *Gentleman's Magazine*, xlv. 330, 388, 441, xlv. 167, 169.

I

D	m	y
14	11	1655

Meadfield Granteth

To John Bowers¹ two Acres and three roods of upland as it lyeth abutting on Bridg street high way toward the north east and on the waste land toward the northwest and the meadow south west and the land of Nicolas Rocket toward the south east

HEN ADAMES² Agt

Meadfield Granteth

To John Bowers three acres and one roode of upland as it lyeth abutting on the lands of nicolas rocket toward the south east and on the waste lands on all parts else

HEN ADAMES Agt

Meadfield Granteth

To John Bower fower Acres & halfe of meadow land as it lyeth Before the end of stop river being Bounded with Charles River Boath toward the south & toward the east according to the various runing of the river Coming near to a poynt boath toward the north east and south west with the waste land on the north west

HENRY ADAMES Agt

Meadfield Granteth

To John Bower Two Acres more or less of meadow Land Ling in the uper broad meadow Abutting Againste the highway Toward the south east and on the waste land on all parts else.

HENRY ADAMES

Meadfield Granteth

To John Bowers two Acres and halfe of meadow Land as it lyeth Abutting on Charles River toward the west And Benjamin Alen toward

¹ John Bowers came to Medfield with the Braintree and Weymouth people about 1652. His house lot was near the Great Bridge. His house was burned and he was killed by the Indians in their attack on Medfield February 21, 1675-76. See Tilden, History of Medfield, p. 320.

² Henry Adams, son of Henry Adams of Braintree, came to Medfield, of which he was the first town clerk, with the Braintree and Weymouth people about 1652. He was killed by the Indians on February 21, 1675-76. Hannah Adams, the well-known writer, was descended in the fifth generation from Henry Adams of Medfield. For a sketch of him, see Tilden's History of Medfield, p. 281.

the north and the Land of John Bowers toward toward the easte with the meadow of nicolas rockwod toward the south

HENRY ADAMES

Meadfield Granteth

To John Bowers nine acres of upland as it lyeth Abutting on the land of Abraham hardinge toward the easte and on the high way toward the north with the waste Land boath on the weste and south

HENRY ADAMES

Meadfield Granteth

To John Bowers two acres of upland as it lyeth Be it more or less Being Bounded with the meadow of John Bower toward the south & south easte with the waste land on all parts else

HENRY ADAMES

II

The request of Richard Norcrosse to y^e honoured Court assembled in Charles Towne is y^t uppon y^e examination of John Nunnump^e Indian lately Servant to M^r: Biscoe¹ of Watertowne, who was associate to Richard Joittimue Indian with some other Indians as is since reported, in y^e robberie donn in Watertowne Schoolehouse out of which they stole 17 greek and Latting books, 15 wheir of are come to hand y^t y^e aforesaid Nunnump^e might be caused to² confesse what is become of a new english bible, and a greek booke called minores poetæ, in english minors poets boath which are yet wanting, and in reference to y^e fact of y^e said Indians Richard Norcrosse leaves it to y^e honoured Court to act in as in wisdome they shall sees fitt soe he remaineth,

Your worships in all servisable respects

19, of y^e 10

RICHARD NORCROSSE³

1664

¹ Probably John Biscoe (1622-1690). See Bond's *Genealogies and History of Watertown*, i. 43.

² The words "might be caused to" are substituted for "would."

³ Richard Norcross, a son of Jeremiah Norcross of Watertown, was born in England about 1621, was admitted a freeman in 1652 or 1653, and died in 1709. He is supposed to have been the first schoolmaster of Watertown, to which office he was chosen on January 6, 1650-51. See Bond's *Genealogies and History of Watertown*, i. 376-377; *Watertown Records*, i. 21.

III

Wee¹ whose names are subscribed, being impowered to take the account of the Treasurer of the County, wee do find that the Treasurer hath disbursed more then he hath rectived, *levyed on (the rate of 81¹: 15^s: 4^d* being all fully accounted) the full the County sume of twenty six pounds five & one penny. For the paym^t the last whereof, and for the carryng on end the occasions of the yeare County for the following yeare, wee app^hend there will be needfull of neere as much to be levyed of the County as was the last yeare, otherwise the Tre^r will be greatly damnified by the disburssing of his owne estate, whereas wee app^hend that his recompence is not suteable to his trouble and damage otherwise.

Dat. 6. 16th. 1667.

THOMAS DANFORTH²

HUGH MASON³

WILLIAM STITSON⁴

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS spoke as follows:

The following extract is taken from the Independent Chronicle of August 20, 1778:

A medal has been lately struck at Paris, by direction of Mr. Voltaire, in honour of General Washington. On one side is the bust of the General, with the inscription, "George Washington, Esq; Commander of the Continental Army in America:" The reverse is decorated with the emblems of war, and the following inscription:

*"Washington reunit par un rare assemblage
Des toiens du Guerrier & des Vertus du sage."*

Translated thus,

"General Washington has re-united, by an uncommon assemblage, in his character, the talents of the warrior with the virtues of a philosopher" (p. 3/2).

¹ This document is in the hand of Thomas Danforth.

² Thomas Danforth (1623-1699), Deputy-Governor of Massachusetts.

³ Capt. Hugh Mason of Watertown. He died October 10, 1678. See Bond's Genealogies and History of Watertown, i. 356.

⁴ Deacon William Stitson, Stetson, or Stilson, of Charlestown. He died April 11, 1691. See Wyman's Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown, i. 902.

According to Baker, "the brilliant Frenchman gave us no effigy, but the piece will always be valued for its epigrammatic legend, and as being the first medal issued in honor of Washington."¹

At a previous meeting of this Society it was shown that from 1779 to 1792, inclusive, Washington's birthday was celebrated in Boston and vicinity on February 11th; that in 1793 it was celebrated on the 22nd; and that by 1795 the 22nd was "the customary" day.² In 1794, curiously enough, it was celebrated on both the 11th and the 22nd. On the latter day it was "celebrated by a great number of citizens at Concert-Hall," and the song sung and the toasts given on the occasion were printed in a Boston newspaper.³ The celebration on the 11th is chiefly interesting by reason of the name of the society under whose auspices it occurred. The following extract is taken from the *Columbian Centinel* of February 12:

SHAKESPEAREAN SOCIETY.

Yesterday, being the anniversary of the birth day, of the exalted Chief, whom Providence has raised to preside over the interests of our beloved country, the same was celebrated, in a manner becoming the character of the Genius whose *name* the society has adopted. Upwards of 50 brethren attended the festival, and the patriotic, sent mental, and convivial toasts; and the song, which combined the pathos of erudition, with the *contour* of festivity, added a zest to the anniversary, and gave another example to the world, that true pleasure, is not inconsistent with rational amusement. We have it not in our power to give to the public, the elegant and ingenious toasts which were drank, and we lament that such is our inability (p. 3/1).

This is the only allusion to the Shakespearean Society known to me, and further information in regard to it would be of interest.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES referred to an indenture of apprenticeship of James Taylor, Treasurer of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay from 1693 to 1714, communicated at the

¹ Medallion Portraits of Washington, No. 78, pp. 49, 52. See also, under date of April 20, 1778, S. Curwen's *Journal and Letters* (1864), p. 204.

² Publications, x. 258, xi. 195 note.

³ See *Columbian Centinel*, February 22, 1794, p. 3/2; February 26, p. 4/1; March 1, p. 3/2.

meeting of the Society held in April, 1908,¹ in which Taylor was described as the "son of Christopher Taylor Citizen and Leatherseller of London," and stated that he had received a letter from Mr. George F. Sutton, Clerk of the Leathersellers' Company, from which the following extract is taken :

I have caused the Records of the Leathersellers' Company to be searched and find that on 15th October 1639 Christopher Tayler was admitted to the Freedom of the Company by servitude, he having been apprenticed to George Chalfont.

Later on I find an entry that "Christopher Taylor" became master of this Company in the year 1675.

It is a matter for regret that the Records of the Company for these particular years are somewhat meagre and I am therefore unable to give you any further information.

Notwithstanding the difference in the spelling I am of opinion that Christopher Tayler and Christopher Taylor were one and the same person.

¹ See pp. 174-181, above.

MARCH MEETING, 1909

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 25 March, 1909, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Rev. MORTON DEXTER read the following paper :

SOME DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PLYMOUTH
AND JAMESTOWN.

During the past two years attention has been directed in many ways to the foundation of the colony at Jamestown, in Virginia. That appropriate notice should be taken thus of the three hundredth anniversary of the beginnings of permanent colonization on our Atlantic coast was natural and commendable. Neglect to do so would have been a grave error. But in the many addresses and publications called forth by the various celebrations some claims were made for Jamestown, and certain allusions to Plymouth occurred, which seem to have left, upon some minds at least, a mistaken impression. In what I am about to say I have no desire to exalt the Plymouth Colony at the expense of that at Jamestown or of any other. But, in the interest of historical truth, I would like to indicate some of the particulars in which the Plymouth Colony differed from that at Jamestown, and which gave to the former the larger importance.

Indisputably Jamestown was founded first. It is incorrect to suppose — and much apparently based upon this supposition occasionally is said or written — that the settlement of the Pilgrims at Plymouth was the earliest in this country. At least six previous attempts had been made, and one of them, that at Jamestown, had succeeded. In 1565 Sir John Hawkins found a small and recent French colony at the mouth of the St. John's River in Florida. It had been sent out, under one Jean Ribaut, by the famous Admiral

Coligny, but it was in great straits and was exterminated by the Spaniards soon after Hawkins's visit. In 1585 Sir Walter Raleigh despatched a small colony, headed by his cousin, Ralph Lane, to Roanoke Island, in what is now North Carolina, but in a few months it was starved out. Two years later, in 1587, Raleigh made another brief attempt at the same place, but also in vain. In 1602 Bartholomew Gosnold, with thirty-two men, landed on Cape Cod and gave it its name. They also visited and named the Elizabeth Islands and built huts on Cuttyhunk. They intended to remain, but in about a month they changed their minds and returned to England. In 1607, as I have said, Jamestown was settled, in March. Three months later in the same year a colony sent out by Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, attempted to establish itself at the mouth of the river Kennebec in Maine, but soon abandoned the undertaking. Popham had been captivated by the glowing reports of George Weymouth, who had explored the New England coast in the summer of 1605 but had not lingered long enough to learn the severity of a Maine winter. And in 1614 George Calvert, who later founded what has become Maryland, obtained from King James I a grant of a part of Newfoundland, which he called Avalon, but this enterprise also was abandoned soon for the same reason, the inclemency of the climate. Jamestown was the only one which managed to survive, and in June, 1610, even this colony was absolutely abandoned in despair, although it was revived immediately.

All these attempts at colonization were actuated primarily by a commercial aim. And here we touch the first point of difference between the Plymouth Colony and that at Jamestown. The predominant motive of the Plymouth men distinguished them from the earlier colonists here whose doings history records. I say their predominant motive. It is not to be denied that they were influenced by more than one. Their age was an age of restlessness and enterprise. It was the period of Drake, Hawkins, Cavendish, Gilbert, Frobisher, and Raleigh. It was an era of adventure, of exploration, of reckless daring in the pursuit of wealth and fame, of reachings forth into the portions of the world up to that time unvisited, or, at the least, still practically unknown, in the search for the north-west passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, for the land of Eldorado, and for the supposedly incalculable treasures of the Indies. And, although little

indeed was secured, in comparison with the visionary anticipations of the adventurers, enough was carried home, in the form of gold, silver, precious stones, costly stuffs of many sorts, rare fruits, and even captives representing races up to then unknown, to keep the public mind in a state of continual excitement.

Out of this effervescence there crystallized gradually a serious and enduring purpose. Thoughtful men realized that buccaneering and privateering, in addition to being open to moral objection, could succeed only temporarily in rewarding those who pursued them, but that well-established colonies in newly discovered lands might become sources of permanent, and possibly enormous, income. So it came to pass naturally that efforts began to be made in earnest to found colonies in promising regions with the definitely formed and frankly avowed aim of commercial profit. This was true not only of England but also of Holland and Spain, and it became inevitable that a colony should devote itself to one or more presumably remunerative branches of trade, in connection with fishing, lumber, skins, or whatever else it may have been. In fact no colony could have maintained itself a year without loyalty to some such material aims. It was as true, therefore, of the Plymouth Colony as of every other that a prominent motive which led to its foundation was the desire to render the wilderness productive and rewarding; in a word to make money, alike for the colonists and for those at home who had helped to finance their undertaking. Because of the niggardliness of these last, the Merchant Adventurers Company, of London, the colonists nearly starved before they could grow crops and put themselves in a position to send back to England cargoes of merchantable goods. This aim was attained only slowly and with extremest difficulty. But it was attained at last, and from the outset it was prominent in their minds.

At Plymouth, however, frankly acknowledged and faithfully pursued although this commercial aim was, it was not the primary, it was not even the secondary, purpose of the colonists. It held no higher than the third place in their minds. What, then, did they rank above it?

The answer is found in the familiar fact that peculiarly, and almost alone among the colonists of the time—the later Massachusetts Bay Colony seems to have been the only other exception, and by

no means to the same degree — they underwent all which befell them for the sake of freedom. Mrs. Hemans struck the correct note in her famous hymn. It was "freedom to worship God" which they sought first and foremost. Whatever may be argued in favor of a State church and whatever may be truly urged in behalf of an hierarchical form of church government, there can be no successful dispute that the ecclesiastical and civil tyranny to which they had been subjected in England formed an ample justification for their resistance until resistance proved hopeless, and then for emigration. But for this probably most of them, if not all, would have continued loyally and happily in the English Church. Opposition set them to thinking and studying. They went back to the earliest days of Christianity and discovered that the first churches were independent. Doubtless they foresaw little of the development of religious and ecclesiastical liberty of which they were laying the foundations in their humble colony, and which the world rightly attributes in such large measure to them. But they were perfectly conscious of what they wanted to do in setting an example of spiritual freedom, of the personal and immediate access of the human soul to its Creator without intervention. This was the primary and supreme motive which impelled, sustained, guided and justified them — the purpose of being spiritually free.

It was not unnatural that events should lead them, as they looked forward after setting their colonizing movement in operation, and before they had reached the scene and sphere of its establishment, to appreciate the value of civil freedom too, and to adopt the purpose of securing and illustrating it as an additional motive. A few persons lacking their high ideals had been added to their company at Southampton, just before they set sail for America, and a handful of these showed signs of insubordination on board ship. The leaders of the company seized the opportunity, while providing that good order and proper discipline might be maintained, to embody their theory of civil liberty in plain words. The same necessity has led others, before their day and since, to take measures for the rule of the majority, but to them it was left to institute in the cabin of their ship that miniature republic which has become one of the most powerful nations and has had more than one conspicuously successful imitator. The famous "Compact" of the Pilgrims ranks in the same class of historic documents as Magna Charta and the Constitution of the United

States. The degree of civil freedom which it assured the colonists was as novel then as it proved enjoyable and serviceable. It was broader in its range and more practical in its adjustments of the claims and duties of the government to the needs and powers and possibilities of the individual citizen than was anything known at Jamestown. To win civil freedom, so far as practicable, was not so early or long-cherished a motive with the Plymouth colonists as to secure ecclesiastical and religious freedom. But it was a leading motive, as a letter from John Robinson to John Carver, written just as they were leaving Holland, indicates.¹ They comprehended the fact that they could not easily maintain, or even obtain, their religious liberty, and hardly could rise to any remunerative degree of material prosperity, unless they could establish from the outset a government which should be strong and safe because it should be free. For them, in their conditions, no other, had there been anybody to set it up and carry it on, would have served their purpose.

Here, then, we see one feature which distinguished the Plymouth Colony from that at Jamestown. The Jamestown colonists came over merely to found a trading colony. This motive was not ignoble, but it was their highest, if not their only, one. The Plymouth colonists also came over to establish a trading colony. They, too, meant to subdue the earth and gather the harvest of the sea, and to send back the abundant fruits of their labor to the mother-land, that both they and those who had supplied much of the means for their adventure might be enriched. But when the *Mayflower* dropped anchor in Plymouth Bay the leaders of her company already had committed themselves also to the maintenance of religious liberty and of civil freedom as the distinguishing characteristics of their enterprise.

May I digress here long enough to say that the settlers of all these colonies can be judged fairly only by the beliefs and standards of their own time, and not by those of our modern and more enlightened day? It has been claimed that the Maryland Colony, founded in 1632, was the only one which granted to its people absolute religious liberty from the outset. In a certain sense this is true. But it is not true in the sense commonly understood. The Maryland Colony was the only one in which Protestant and Romanist, Low Churchman and High Churchman, Presbyterian, Baptist, Quaker or anybody else

¹ Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation* (1908), pp. 68-70.

could indulge his own preference in respect to religious belief and worship without risk of interference. But the reason of this is plain when the history of the colony is examined. The Calvert family, which founded the colony, was Roman Catholic. At that time in England the Roman Catholics not only were out of power and favor but also were regarded with constant suspicion, and even with almost actual terror, because of the vivid popular recollection of their cruel oppressiveness in the time of their political supremacy, and because of their frequent plots to overthrow the Protestant monarchy and subject the country again to an alliance with Spain and to the civil as well as the religious domination of the Pope. They were suppressed sternly as a political necessity. So, if the Calverts had attempted to establish what they really desired, a Roman Catholic colony, they never would have been granted the necessary charter by the English government. As it was, they secured it only because the head of the family had long been a Protestant, at least nominally, before avowing himself a Romanist, had been an eminent and useful public official, and had won the personal regard of the king. The sole way in which they could secure for themselves and their fellow Roman Catholics in the colony the measure of religious and ecclesiastical liberty which they wanted was to grant it to everybody else also, without distinction, and therefore this policy was adopted. It was not that they were more liberally minded than others. It was only that circumstances forced them to do as they did.

It should be added that the most advanced ideas of religious liberty which commonly were held then were far behind those which are commonplaces to us. One hears occasional sneers at the colonists of those days, especially at the Pilgrims of Plymouth and the Puritans of the Bay, as having been narrow, bigoted and bitter, on the ground that they refused to others, as soon as they had gained a position where they could do so safely, the liberty upon which they insisted for themselves and of which they made their boast. Such sneers spring only from ignorance, carelessness, or wilful misrepresentation. In fact they never professed to possess, to offer to others, or even to believe in that degree of religious liberty which most people advocate and practise to-day. Their age in general knew nothing of such a liberty. Only a few individuals here or there were convinced that such a thing could be. What these colonists sought, distinctly and frankly,

was freedom for themselves to worship God according to their consciences. They abandoned their early homes and separated themselves from the remainder of mankind largely, as I have said, with this object. But to them this meant, and only meant, that in the territory under their control their ideas of religion and its observances should prevail, or, at the most, that no ideas essentially opposed to their own should prevail. They were willing to grant to others, who held other views, the same freedom which they claimed, but upon condition that it be enjoyed somewhere else. The world was wide. Let Quakers, for instance, believe and practise what they liked, but let them not expect to be allowed to do so in colonies established to illustrate other than Quaker views. Let them colonize by themselves.

To our modern thought this is not a liberal position to take. But they must be judged by the standards of their own time, not of ours. Practically, however, the Plymouth Pilgrims were in advance of their age and of the settlers of most of the other colonies. They allowed a degree of religious liberty much greater than that in the Bay Colony or anywhere else, excepting afterwards in Maryland. They were not without visions of real spiritual freedom. They "never imposed any religious test as a qualification for the suffrage."¹ They did not accept Roger Williams's peculiar opinions, but they allowed him to preach to them for one or two years as their pastor's assistant, and remained friendly with him after his well-merited banishment from the Bay. Indeed, there is a persistent tradition that Miles Standish himself never joined their church but was a Roman Catholic, as his relatives in England certainly were.

Returning now to our direct line of thought, I would remind you, in the second place, that the Plymouth Colony was what may be described as a colony of families. Prominent among the intentions of its members was that of establishing homes, or, rather, of re-establishing in America the homes which they had cherished in mother England and in Holland, the land of their refuge for eleven years. It should be remembered that the unit of human society is not the individual, as often is asserted nowadays. It is the family. From the patriarchal age down to the present time the history of the human race has demonstrated this. That many individuals have won distinction, and even have done splendid service to their race, apart

¹ Byington, *Puritan in England and New England*, p. 170.

from family ties only illustrates the familiar fact that every rule has its exceptions. Nothing has been shown more clearly by the records of colonization than that, although the beginning of a settlement in virgin territory may be made successfully by a body of masculine colonists, a body of men inured to hardship and able to survive the perils and conquer the difficulties which beset any new undertaking of the sort, no colony can expect to succeed permanently, or even to thrive very long, until the feminine element has been added to the masculine, until homes have been established and family life has become a recognized and characteristic feature of its growth.

Now the Jamestown Colony was distinctly, and for a long time, destitute of this feature. Its colonists were men, and men of whom many were of none too high a type of abilities, manners, or morals. It often has been asserted that most of the colonists of Virginia were persons of higher social standing in the mother country than the settlers of New England, that the Southern colonists were gentlemen and the Northern tradesmen, artisans, or farmers. This statement does not bear examination. In the England of that time, as John Fiske well says, each of the two great parties which included practically the whole nation, the Cavaliers and the Roundheads, comprehended so many of the nobility and gentry that political distinctions had no social significance whatever. And when the colonies were founded in this country the English nobility and commonalty both were represented numerously. In Fiske's own words,—

The differences that grew up between the relatively aristocratic type of society in Virginia and the relatively democratic type in New England were due not at all to differences in the social quality of the settlers but in some degree to their differences in church politics, and in a far greater degree to the different economic circumstances of Virginia and New England.¹

Nevertheless, there was a considerable element in the colony at Jamestown which hardly was represented at all in Plymouth. Some of its settlers were men of gentle blood and education. But many, especially during its earliest years, were of the lowest grade morally as well as socially. Many were familiar with prisons in the old country, the doors of which had been opened to them upon the express

¹ Old Virginia and her Neighbours, ii. 29, 30.

condition that they should emigrate to Virginia. Many were ne'er-do-weels, impecunious adventurers of more or less reckless character, defiant of social proprieties and conventionalities, who never had formed or had readily disregarded family ties. Many actually had been kidnapped on the streets of English towns, hurried secretly on board ship, and sent over to Jamestown to become hewers of wood and drawers of water and the progenitors of those who later became known as "poor whites" and "white trash."

These classes of settlers did not bring wives and children to America with them. Few among them looked forward to founding homes, in the high meaning of that term. Nor did many of those among them who were of superior origin. These last-named meant to make fortunes here and then go back to England to live. And when, in the course of time, it was appreciated that the colony must collapse unless something like family life could be introduced, they had to send home for relief and several ship-loads of women and girls were despatched to become their wives and the mothers of the future inhabitants of the colony. Probably most of these were entirely respectable, but few, if any, were of superior birth or training. Certainly many belonged to the lower classes socially. Fiske describes some of them as "the wretched women from English jails." Among them, too, as in the case of the men, were a number who had been kidnapped. Many, if not most, of them also were sent out in a species of bondage, for they were sold to the highest bidders upon their arrival in Virginia and were not free until they, or the men who wished to marry them, had repaid their passage-money. Homes were formed thus, indeed, and many of them proved creditable and praiseworthy, but many others, as was only to be expected, were homes in name rather than in fact. It was years later in the history of the colony when new settlers began to bring their households with them and when the English gentry, from whom some of the eminent families in Virginia are descended, began to be represented conspicuously in the colony.

But at Plymouth the state of things was very different. When the men who became Pilgrims — and only two or three of them, and those not original members of the company, proved undesirable — first made resistance to the tyranny of their oppressors in England, their wives and mothers and sisters upheld and encouraged them. When they fled from England their women fled with them. While they

struggled and suffered and planned in Holland, the women bore their full share in both anxiety and hope. When it was decided to uproot themselves once more and to seek still another country, there was no thought of leaving the women behind, and they endured the hardships of the long and stormy voyage and the terrible perils of the early settlement with hearts as resolute as those of the men. From first to last, so far as circumstances allowed, their homes were transferred with their persons and their household goods. The family life went on unbroken and unaltered. That on board the *Mayflower* there were many men unaccompanied by women is true. Some were unmarried. Others had left their wives behind, to follow later. In the nature of things it was not possible that every wife should go at first with her husband. But families enough, as such, and more than enough, were in the company to stamp the domestic, family character of the colony upon its face indelibly and forever.

This fact was set forth forcibly by Mr. Charles Francis Adams, in an address before the Massachusetts Society of *Mayflower* Descendants at its December banquet in 1903. As he then declared and explained, the Plymouth Colony was the first in this country, if not in the whole world, to recognize and honor woman. From the very outset she had her rightful place at her husband's side and as her children's head. And the Plymouth wives and mothers were no hastily gathered body of miscellaneous women, with little or no education, with no high ideals in civil and religious matters and no ennobling discipline of suffering for the sake of conscience. They were worthy of the men by whose sides they stood. They represented in character and experience the best type of the womanhood of that age. The same thing was true of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, but that was not founded until eight or ten years later, and the Plymouth Colony had passed through the period of its keenest suffering, had driven its roots firmly into the soil, and had well begun its career of prosperity before the Bay Colony was undertaken. Indeed, it well may be that the family life of the colony at Plymouth and the respect and honor which it paid to woman were not without vital suggestiveness to the founders of the Bay Colony, and helped to lead them to adopt the same policy, as they did.

We come now to a third point of difference between the two colonies, Plymouth and Jamestown. The Jamestown Colony exerted very

little influence upon the succeeding development of democratic institutions in America. The influence of the Plymouth Colony was powerful and lasting. Here, again, too much has been asserted for Plymouth and the careful student of history must unravel some tangled claims. As the result he probably will decide that the shape which our political institutions finally took was not due to any one of the different colonies alone. Each probably contributed something towards the grand result. If any one were specially pre-eminent above the others in the matter of form, apparently it was Connecticut. The constitution of this colony, adopted at Hartford on June 14, 1639, has been truly described as "the first written constitution known to history, that created a government." As Fiske has remarked, "Magna Charta partook of the nature of a written constitution, as far as it went, but it did not create a government," while "the compact drawn up in the Mayflower's cabin was not, in the strict sense, a constitution, which is a document defining and limiting the functions of government."¹ Nevertheless, the Mayflower Compact inaugurated a new era in civil and political life. Although nominally acknowledging allegiance to the English crown, the Plymouth men were intent upon trying the experiment of self-government afresh and in surroundings where it would be free from the unfavorable conditions which had defeated it up to that time, as in Venice.

They did not openly avow independence of King James, and, had a proposition to that effect been made, doubtless they would have rejected it promptly. But they did, and evidently they meant to do, the same thing in effect. They determined to govern themselves and they did so. They established, on a small scale but in an enduring fashion, a definite type of what has come to be called republican government, and the subsequent colonies which did the same thing hardly can have failed to be influenced by their success. When the Massachusetts Bay Colony was founded it was upon a scale so much larger than that of Plymouth, and the attitude of the English authorities towards it was so much more friendly, that it had a great advantage over Plymouth. The purpose of its founders was to establish not merely a vigorous trading colony but also "a definite and organized state."² They adroitly managed to secure a charter permitting them to make such laws as they pleased, provided that none of these laws should antagonize those of England. They even succeeded in

¹ *Beginnings of New England*, p. 127 note.

² *Ibid.* p. 105.

defeating a proposed stipulation that the government of the colony must be vested in officials residing in England. Now what led them to insist so strongly upon a degree of independence so unprecedented? It stands to reason that they must have familiarized themselves most carefully with the character and history of the pioneer colony at Plymouth, so near to their own selected site. In fact there is evidence of this.¹

They must have been convinced thus that practical political independence was possible in fact as well as in theory. It not only was what they desired in principle, but it also was being illustrated under their very eyes, so to speak, as something which there was no good reason why they should not have. The Mayflower Compact must have suggested some important features of their charter. The example of Plymouth must have encouraged and guided them to vitalize and apply their charter in action. It would be extravagant to assert that, but for the example of Plymouth, the Bay colonists would not have undertaken to build their colony upon foundations of practical political independence, but surely it is quite within bounds to say that it was much easier for them to secure what they wanted because Plymouth had led the way. The conditions of the two colonies were so unlike that differences in respect to details were inevitable as their careers developed. But in the fundamental matter of practical republicanism they were at one, and the older colony cannot have failed to influence the younger powerfully.

Then, later, the Connecticut Colony, which was settled largely from Massachusetts Bay, followed in their steps, and, as I have said already, even went beyond them in shaping its constitution. And from these three colonies population gradually extended itself northward and westward, carrying New England ideas, principles, policies and habits with it. This, of course, was true also of the Middle and Southern colonies, but in nothing like the same degree. It was New England pre-eminently which settled the Interior and the Great West, and the political beliefs and usages of early New England were the chief factors in making possible and real the United States of to-day. Not all the credit, by any means, is due to Plymouth, but its service in this respect was vital and enduring and may not be overlooked. If Connecticut were first to give form to republican ideas, Plymouth certainly had anticipated it in illustrating their spirit.

¹ *Beginnings of New England*, pp. 93-94.

Now how far can a similar claim be made fairly for Jamestown? Instead of possessing democratic institutions from the outset, it was ruled by governors whose administrations were arbitrary, even when kindly. They have been described as "all despotisms whether mild or harsh."¹ Naturally a demand for more popular liberty came to be made, and it gradually grew so insistent that in 1619 a General Assembly, later called the House of Burgesses, was formed, which has been called "the first legislative body of Englishmen in America."² Now, had the institution of this body been followed by the results which presumably would have followed in a colony like that at Plymouth or Massachusetts Bay, Jamestown might, and probably would, have deserved the credit of having not merely inaugurated the beginnings of free government but also of having led the way in developing it. But in large measure the circumstances of the colony prevented this. The character of its common life differed radically from that of the New England colonies. In Plymouth the people lived together, at first in one and later in several little towns, and they established at once the town-meeting, the general gathering of the citizens at which public questions are discussed openly and public policies are settled by vote. All experts in political history agree in declaring the town-meeting to be one of the most fundamental and influential agencies in promoting political intelligence and efficiency.

But in the Virginia Colony the town played only a minor part. In fact towns hardly existed for some time. People lived on plantations, which were large and widely scattered and had different interests. Communication was difficult and was chiefly by water, for roads were few and bad. No such popular gathering as the town-meeting was easy to be held and authority fell into the hands of the few instead of the many. Most of the people had little or nothing to do with local government, and therefore took comparatively little interest in it, unless it oppressed them somehow, and of course they missed the educational value of active participation in the control of public affairs.

Thus the character and influence of the colony as a whole became affected. Its people were favorable rather than hostile to democratic ideas, when they thought about them, and now and then, upon occasion, advocated them strongly, but ordinarily at first were some-

¹ Fiske, *Old Virginia and her Neighbours*, i. 177.

² *Ibid.* i. 186.

what indifferent about them because so generally unacquainted with them practically. In time, as population spread and people came to live nearer to each other, their common interests increased in number and importance, and at last they caught up with the colonies which had had a more democratic training. There was distinct and steady progress towards democracy, and afterward individual Virginians, such as Washington, Jefferson, Madison and others, became leaders in the great movement towards republicanism. But this was much later, and after the original characters of all the colonies had been modified more or less. The Jamestown Colony, as such and especially during the earlier years of its life which we are considering, exerted little or no influence upon the shaping of our country's institutions compared with that of the Plymouth Colony.

In these three particulars, not to mention others, it seems neither untrue nor unfair to claim that the Plymouth Colony differed from the colony at Jamestown and was the more important. The Plymouth Colony had higher, nobler aims as its distinguishing motives from the outset. It was notable for its family life and for the honor with which it crowned woman. It also had a more direct, powerful, and lasting influence in shaping the development of republican institutions on this side of the Atlantic.

Would it not be interesting if some of the representative settlers could come back to us long enough to tell us more than now we ever shall know here about their experiences, their aims, their visions of the future while they were alive, and their impressions of our country as it is to-day? Suppose that William Brewster and Captain John Smith, each one of the most cosmopolitan, most shrewd, most energetic and in every way most admirable leaders in their respective colonies, could appear among us this afternoon and address us. Suppose them to be well informed concerning the history of our country and the wonderful fruition of the little seeds which they helped to plant. Much in our manners, beliefs, and institutions doubtless would impart a tinge of regret to the words which they would speak to us, and perhaps would prompt them to remonstrance and warning. But more, I am confident, would impel them to utterances of gladness and thanksgiving. And probably in nothing else would they be more heartily agreed than in their gratification because of the successful perpetuation within our borders of true civil and religious liberty and of a generally noble and beautiful type of family life. And if Brewster

should turn to Smith and say, "Which colony, Captain, yours or mine, has had the larger influence in promoting this fortunate condition of things?" Smith was so intelligent and fair-minded a man that I believe he would reply, "Well, Elder, Jamestown must not be belittled. It has done much and has done it well. But on the whole I will admit that Plymouth has done the most and the best."

Mr. HENRY W. CUNNINGHAM made the following communication:

DIARY OF THE REV. SAMUEL CHECKLEY, 1735.

A short time ago there fell into my hands a copy of *The New-England Diary: Or, Almanack For the Year of our Lord Christ, 1735*, that was interleaved and filled with comments by the Rev. Samuel Checkley on various happenings in Boston during that year. There is much in this Diary that has more than a passing interest for the student of old Boston, and it covers a period when the records are surprisingly meagre. Judge Sewall's voluminous Diary had ended six years before, and by a singular fatality both town and church records during the early part and middle of the eighteenth century are either missing altogether, or else so little is recorded that they are of slight value. The records of Mr. Checkley's church, now in the custody of the City Registrar, contain no records of death, a fact that adds value to the burials recorded in this Diary.

The Boston selectmen in the very year of this almanac expressed concern at the neglect of the inhabitants to record births and deaths; and Samuel Gerrish, the town clerk, recorded the negligence complained of, from which it appears that, for the fourteen months preceding, "more than 950 births and deaths" had occurred in the town of which no record had been handed in; "which neglect of theirs," he added "may prove to be of ill consequence to their posterity."¹

It is clear, therefore, that when a record of this character, made by an educated man of the dominant class, comes to light, it ought to be printed, that others may benefit by the discovery.

From the earliest days, one or more almanacs had been published

¹ Drake's *History and Antiquities of Boston*, p. 599.

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MDCCXXXV.

The New-England Diary: Or,
ALMANACK
For the Year of our Lord CHRIST,
1 7 3 5.

Being the Third Year of Bissextile, and

The Creation of the World, —	5 6 8 4	} Years
Noah's Flood, —	4 0 2 8	
Building of London, —	2 8 4 2	
Settlement of New-England, —	0 1 2 6	
Building of Boston, —	0 1 0 5	
Great Fire in Boston, —	0 0 2 5	

Applying the Horizon of BOSTON, in N. E. where
the North Pole is raised, and the South Pole is de-
pressed equal to an Angle of 42 deg. 25 min. North,
and Meridian 4 h. 44 m. West of London.

By a Native of New-England.

AND for the Heav'n's wide Circuit, let it speak
The Makers high Magnificence, who built
so spacious, and his Line stretcht out so far,
That Man may know he dwells not in his house;
An Edifice too large for him to fill,
Lodg'd in a small Partition, and the rest
Ordain'd for Uses to his Lord best known.
Milton's Par. lost.

BOSTON, in New-England,
Printed by T. Fleet, for the Booksellers, and
sold at their Shops. 1 7 3 5.

*Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from an original in the possession of
Henry Winchester Cunningham Esquire*

in New England nearly every year, and found their way into the homes of the people, in many of which they shared with the Bible the distinction of being the only books in the house. Professor Moses Coit Tyler lays stress upon their value to students of early American literature and shows the influence they had upon the thought of the people. In speaking of the Ames almanacs, which continued longer than most others and were perhaps typical of all, he says:

Nathaniel Ames made his almanac a sort of annual cyclopædia of information and amusement, — a vehicle for the conveyance to the public of all sorts of knowledge and nonsense, in prose and verse, from literature, history and his own mind, all presented with brevity, variety, and infallible tact. . . . He carried into the furthest wildernesses of New England some of the best English literature; pronouncing there, perhaps for the first time, the names of Addison, Thomson, Pope, Dryden, Butler, Milton; and repeating there choice fragments of what they had written.

And in speaking of these books in general, he adds:

Throughout our colonial time, when larger books were costly and few, the almanac had everywhere a hearty welcome and frequent perusal; the successive numbers of it were carefully preserved year after year; their margins and blank pages were often covered over with annotations, domestic and otherwise. Thus, John Cotton, it will be remembered, used the blank spaces in his almanacs as depositories for his stealthy attempts at verse. So, also, the historian, Thomas Prince, recorded in his almanacs the state of his accounts with his hair-dresser and wig-maker.¹

It is doubly interesting, then, in the book before us to find not only personal items jotted down, but also those happenings that were of consequence at the time to all Bostonians, and the exact dates of the funerals of members of the Rev. Mr. Checkley's church and of other prominent citizens.

This almanac is one of a series styled "The New-England Diary: Or, Almanack" which began in 1723 and continued through 1738. The author was Nathan Bowen, though on several title-pages he omits his name and styles himself "a Native of New-England." The numbers from 1722 to 1733 inclusive were printed in Boston by Bar-

¹ History of American Literature, ii. 120, 121, 123.

tholomew Green who died December 28, 1732, and the next two numbers were probably printed by Thomas Fleet, who certainly printed the last two. The title-page of this issue for 1735 is interesting not only for its quaint facts, but for the quotation of seven lines from *Paradise Lost*, which shows that its author was one of those New Englanders who had some knowledge and appreciation of Milton's poems.¹

As the number of almanacs increased, the compilers evidently became keen rivals. Nathaniel Ames took Bowen to task for erratic calculations, and Bowen in his issue for 1730 replied:

I have once more ventured into the world, notwithstanding a Repulse I met with the last Year, from a Young Stripling, who under the influence of Mercury, gave his Pen a Latitude beyond that of his Beard; but let him know That tho' he hath so great a value for the merits of his own performance, were I disposed to pick holes in his Coat, I should leave him in a ragged Condition; &ct.

Not only in the printed pages for each month, but in the manuscript portions every Sunday is indicated by a letter E. This is the Dominical letter for the year 1735. As the first Sunday in the year came on the fifth day of the month, the fifth letter of the alphabet is used to indicate every Sunday during the year.

The first owner of the Diary, who wrote the brief daily comments, was the Rev. Samuel Checkley, the first minister of the New South Church in Boston. Checkley's father, also named Samuel, had come from Northampton in England in 1670 to Boston, where he married in 1680 Mary, daughter of Joshua Scottow. He served at various times as selectman, town clerk, county treasurer, and as a justice of the peace for the county, besides being a deacon of the Old South Church. He died full of years and honors December 27, 1738.²

The son Samuel, born February 11, 1695-96, graduated from Harvard in 1715, and studied for the ministry. On April 23, 1718, the town of Haverhill, Massachusetts, gave him an invitation "to settle among them in the work of the ministry," but he declined the call, possibly because there seemed to be some dissension in the

¹ See remarks of Mr. Charles Francis Adams in 3 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, ii. 154-170.

² New England Historical and Genealogical Register, ii. 351.

church.¹ When in 1719 the New South Church was established on Church Green near the foot of Summer Street, to meet the spiritual needs of the growing southerly section of the town, Checkley was called to become its first pastor. He married January 5, 1720-21, Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. Benjamin Rolfe of Haverhill, who thirteen years before had miraculously escaped when her father and mother were murdered by the Indians.² Mr. Checkley was esteemed as preacher and pastor, and under his long pastorate of over fifty years his church grew and flourished, and he led the usual life of a Boston minister of the eighteenth century. His church continued as an active factor in the city down to our own time, when the meeting-house on Church Green yielded to the encroachments of business. It numbered among its pastors President Kirkland of Harvard, and the Rev. Dr. Alexander Young, who bore testimony to the fact that the church records were admirably kept during the fifty years of Mr. Checkley's labors.³

The Rev. Samuel Checkley delivered the Artillery Election Sermon in 1725. In his Diary under date of June 7 of that year Jeremiah Bumstead says:

Mr. Checkley preach't to y^e artillery from 2 Samuel, 22, 35, "he teacheth my hands to war." Not an hour in sermon & last singing.⁴

Mr. Checkley published the following sermons: ⁵

¹ Mirick, History of Haverhill, p. 139.

² New England Historical and Genealogical Register, ii. 353.

³ Ibid. ii. 351 note.

⁴ New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xv. 204.

⁵ The reason for giving these titles at such length is that no complete list of Mr. Checkley's printed sermons has been made and that hitherto the writings of Mr. Checkley and those of his son, the Rev. Samuel Checkley, Jr., have been confused. Thus three sermons have been attributed to our Mr. Checkley which were really preached by his son, pastor of the Second (or North) Church, as is proved by the following title-pages:

The Character and Hope of the Righteous Consider'd, in a Sermon Preach'd the Lord's-Day after the Funeral of Madam Lydia Hutchinson, the Virtuous Consort Of The Honourable Edward Hutchinson, Esq; Who departed this Life, July 10. 1748. Aged 61. By Samuel Checkley, A.M. Pastor of the second Church of Christ in Boston. Boston, 1748.

The Duty of God's People when engaged in War. A Sermon Preached at the North-Church of Christ in Boston, Sept. 21. To Captain Thomas Stoddard, and his Company;

1. The Duty of a People, to lay to Heart and Lament the Death of a Good King. A Sermon Preach'd August 20th. 1727. The Lord's-Day after the Sorrowful News of the Death of Our Late King George I. Of Blessed Memory. Boston, no date. A second edition was printed, also undated.

2. The Death of the godly, and especially of the faithful gospel Ministers, the greatest loss to survivors. A Sermon Preached September 17th. 1727. The Lord's-day after the Funeral of the Reverend Mr. William Waldron. Boston, 1727.

3. Mr. Checkley's Sermons to a Condemned Prisoner.¹ Boston, 1733.

4. Little Children brought to Jesus Christ. A Sermon Preached in private May 6. And afterwards in publick, June 14. 1741. upon a sorrowful Occasion. And published at the Desire of One that heard it. Boston, 1741.

5. Prayer a Duty when God's People go forth to War. A Sermon Preach'd Feb. 28. 1744, 5. Being a Day of publick Fasting and Prayer, To ask in particular, That it would please God to succeed the Expedition formed against his Majesty's Enemies, &c. Boston, 1745.

6. A Day of Darkness. A Sermon Preach'd before His Excellency William Shirley, Esq; The Honourable His Majesty's Council, and House of Representatives, Of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New England: May 28th. 1755. Being the Anniversary for the Election of His Majesty's Council for said Province. Boston, 1755.

On Occasion of their going against the Enemy. By Samuel Checkley, A.M. Pastor of said Church. Boston, 1755.

The Christian triumphing over Death through Christ. A Sermon Preached November 10. 1765. At the second Church of Christ, in Boston; Upon a mournful Occasion. Published with some Enlargements. By Samuel Checkley, jun'r. Pastor of said Church. Boston, 1765. The "mournful Occasion" was the death of "Mrs. Mary Gallop, Widow, aged 37 Years."

¹ The words in the text are those of the half-title, missing in some copies. There were three sermons, each separately paged, but with a continuous register. The titles are as follows:

Murder a great and crying Sin. A Sermon Preach'd on the Lord's-Day March 4th. 1732-3. To a poor Prisoner Under Sentence of Death for that Crime.

Mercy with God for the chief of Sinners. A Sermon Preach'd on the Lord's Day March 4th To a Prisoner Under Sentence of Death for Murder.

Sinners minded of a future Judgment. A Sermon Preached to, and at the Desire of, A Condemned Prisoner, March 18th. 1732-3. Being the Lord's-Day before his Execution.

In addition to the above sermons, Mr. Checkley's "Charge" at the ordination on October 29, 1746, of the Rev. William Vinal at Newport Rhode Island, was printed at Newport in 1747 in the Sermon preached upon the occasion by the Rev. Joseph Fish of Stonington;¹ and his "Charge" at the ordination on April 30, 1766, of the Rev. Penuel Bowen as his own colleague-pastor at the New South Church was printed in the Sermon then preached by the Rev. Dr. Charles Chauncy.²

Mr. Checkley became distinguished through his posterity, since his daughter Elizabeth was the first wife of the patriot Samuel Adams and his son Samuel (H. C. 1743) was pastor of the Second Church in Boston, while a daughter of the latter married the Rev. Dr. John Lathrop, pastor of the same church, and from the last named was descended John Lothrop Motley.

Boston in 1735 had over 4,000 houses and about 17,000 inhabitants; there were nine Congregational and two Church of England churches, with a third (Trinity) just beginning; one Baptist, one French Protestant, and a Quaker Meeting.³ There were five weekly newspapers.⁴

In reading this Diary one is struck by the number of times the author exchanged pulpits, or had other ministers preach in his church, as well as by the distance from which many of them came. In those days it was something of a trip from Boston to Scituate, Barnstable, Haverhill, or Salisbury; yet ministers from all those places as well as from Hampton, New Hampshire; Biddeford, Maine; Lebanon, Connecticut; and from the Connecticut valley filled his pulpit. Of course, many of them had come to Boston on visits, drawn hither for various reasons, and it is only natural that they should have preached for some brother minister while here.

The Boston ministers, Thomas Foxcroft, Joseph Sewall, Mather Byles, Joshua Gee, Charles Chauncy, Samuel Mather, Benjamin Colman, William Welsteed, and William Cooper are too well known to need comment here. On March 16 we find the Rev. John Cotton

¹ Pages 49-52.

² Pages 33-36.

³ New England Historical and Genealogical Register, i. 134, ii. 353; Drake, History and Antiquities of Boston, p. 820; Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, vol. xxii. p. iv.

⁴ Publications of this Society, ix. 9.

in the New South pulpit. He was a son of the Rev. Roland Cotton of Sandwich and great-grandson of the famous Rev. John Cotton of Boston. He graduated at Harvard in 1710 and was settled in 1714 as the third minister of Newton, where he died May 17, 1757, in his sixty-fourth year. Jackson gives a long account of his youthful accomplishments and virtues and of the anxiety of the people of Newton to secure his services, and prints the laudatory inscription upon his tombstone, which is so long that it is difficult to see how one stone could hold it all.¹ Checkley returned this visit, for the entry is found on Friday, September 5: "w^t to Newtown pr^d M^r Cotton's Lecture." On June 1 and 29 the Rev. Ward Cotton of Hampton preached in Boston. He was a younger brother of the Newton pastor, who had preached the sermon at his ordination in Hampton in 1734.

On May 25 Checkley preached in the Hollis Street Church and "M^r Eliot" preached for him; and again on October 12 we find Mr. Eliot in his pulpit. This was probably the Rev. Jacob Eliot, who graduated at Harvard in 1720 and was ordained in 1729 as the first pastor of the Goshen Church at Lebanon, Connecticut. His first wife was a daughter of the Rev. John Robinson of Duxbury. Eliot died April 12, 1766, in his sixty-sixth year.²

On June 15 Mr. Green of Barnstable preached in the New South in the afternoon. This was the Rev. Joseph Green, a classmate of Jacob Eliot at Harvard. He had been settled over the East Church at Barnstable in 1725, and continued his ministry there till his death in 1770 at the age of 70. The long inscription on his gravestone ends with the lines:

Think what the Christian minister should be,
You've then his character—for such was he. ³

Four times during the year members of the Cushing family preached for Checkley, and fortunately he has given a designation to each one so that they can be identified, for they were all near relatives. On

¹ History of Newton, p. 252.

² Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, i. 322 note; Hine, *Early Lebanon*, p. 153.

³ Allen, *American Biographical and Historical Dictionary*; Freeman, *History of Cape Cod*, i. 362, 566.

June 8 came "M^r Cushing (of Dover)." This was the Rev. Jonathan Cushing of the Harvard Class of 1712, who, like Checkley, had had a call (in 1716) to a Haverhill church and declined it,¹ and had taught school for a year or two at his boyhood home in Hingham. On September 18, 1717, he was settled over the parish at Dover, New Hampshire, at a salary of £90 a year, and in the following month he married his second cousin Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Cushing of Boston. He was minister of that church for fifty-two years and until his death March 25, 1769, and for the last two years had as his colleague the Rev. Dr. Jeremy Belknap. In personal appearance he is said to have been "a large, stout man of dignified appearance," and also that he was "a grave and sound preacher, a kind, peaceable, prudent and judicious pastor, a wise and faithful friend."²

On July 6 is found the entry in the Diary "M^r Cushing (of Salisbury)," on August 3 "M^r Cushing (of Haverhil)," and on November 16 "M^r James Cushing." The last two items refer to the same man — the Rev. James Cushing (H. C. 1725), who became pastor of the North parish of Haverhill in 1730 and died there May 13, 1764. He was a second cousin of the Dover minister and the son of the Rev. Caleb Cushing of Salisbury, who had filled Checkley's pulpit on July 6. The latter was the ancestor of Caleb Cushing, the well-known lawyer and statesman.

The note under July 20, "M^r Hinsdel p. m.," recalls an interesting character, Ebenezer Hinsdale of the Harvard Class of 1727. He was ordained a missionary to the Indians in 1733, when the Rev. Joseph Sewall preached the ordination sermon.³ He seems to have gone at once to the Connecticut valley, where he entered with zeal into the work of a pioneer. He was chaplain of the troops stationed at Fort Dummer, and later built a grist mill near by. In 1753 the town of Hinsdale was incorporated and he was its first town clerk. He died January 6, 1763, at the age of 57, and on his gravestone he is called "Col."⁴ The Rev. Paul Coffin (H. C. 1759) of Wells,

¹ Mirick, *History of Haverhill*, p. 138.

² J. S. Cushing, *Cushing Genealogy*, p. 34; J. Scales, *Historical Memoranda of Dover*, N. H.

³ Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, i. 280 note.

⁴ H. Child, *Gazetteer of Cheshire County, New Hampshire*; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, ii. 208.

Maine, kept a journal of a tour to the Connecticut River in the summer of 1760, and on July 25 of that year wrote:

Rode alone to Deerfield dined with Rev. Ashley, then waited on Col. Hinsdale. This man with Joseph Seecomb and Mr. Parker, was ordained a Missionary in Boston, Hinsdale was sent westward; the other 2 went East. All this must have been done long before the war of 1755. Hinsdale did not preach long. The Town and Fort near Fort Dummer, is now called *Hinsdale*, after the said Hinsdale. The Fort he built at his own Cost. . . . Col. Hinsdale has 30 acres english grain fit for the Sickles.¹

Coffin staid over night at the house and next day Madam Hinsdale and he went in a row boat three miles to hear Mr. (afterwards Judge) Simeon Strong preach.

On December 7 another man from western Massachusetts preached for Checkley, the Rev. Robert Breck. Son of the Rev. Robert Breck² of Marlborough, he graduated at Harvard in 1730 and was settled for two or more years at Windham, Connecticut, when he received a call to the church at Springfield. This he declined because certain rumors and stories regarding his belief were rife in the parish; but in 1735 he was again called, accepted, and was installed, and continued as pastor till his death April 23, 1784, at the age of 71, by tact and judicious conduct of life living down all prejudices and becoming much loved.³

One famous Middlesex County minister officiated for Checkley, for on November 23 is found the item "old M^r Hancock." This was the Rev. John Hancock, who was settled over the parish in Lexington from 1698 to 1752, the latter part of the time having as his colleague his son, the Rev. Ebenezer Hancock. He was familiarly known as "Bishop Hancock," because he had presided over so many ministerial councils and ordinations in Middlesex County.⁴

On November 9 is the entry "M^r Willord (of Biddiford)." This was the Rev. Samuel Willard of the Harvard Class of 1723, long settled at Biddeford. He was the father of Joseph Willard, the President of Harvard College.

¹ New England Historical and Genealogical Register, ix. 340, 341.

² See p. 214, above.

³ Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, i. 385.

⁴ Paige, History of Cambridge, p. 572; Hudson, History of Lexington, pp. 53, 71, 84.

Checkley also notes the ordination of the Rev. Joseph Stimpson of Charlestown over the South Precinct Church of Malden, on September 24. Corey's History of Malden gives a pathetic tale of this man's poverty and struggles.

On October 5 is the entry "Mr Cambell a. m." This was probably the Rev. Othniel Campbell of the Harvard Class of 1728, a resident of the town of Plympton.¹ In 1738 he is found on the council of ministers and elders, mostly Plymouth County men, who settled the dispute between the Rev. John Robinson and the people of Duxbury.

On December 21 Mr. Checkley's pulpit was filled in the morning by a classmate at Harvard, John Cleverly, a singular man. He had studied for the ministry, but probably never was ordained, and about this period preached for a few years in New Jersey, at Elizabeth and Morristown. His ministrations not being successful, he retired from the pulpit and lived at Morristown somewhat of a hermit, unmarried, and in straitened circumstances, till his death on December 31, 1776, at the age of 81.²

In addition to the annual Fast on March 27, Mr. Checkley makes mention four times of fasts that were held in Boston during this year. First on May 22 "at old Ch:" meaning probably the First Church. Next on June 24 "At our Ch:" and here he gives more than a brief line and speaks of the preaching and praying both morning and afternoon, showing that the people evidently gave up a whole day to these fasts. The other two were those at the Rev. Mr. Welstead's New Brick Church on August 26, and at Charlestown on September 23. In each case Checkley gives as the object of these fasts "the Revival of religion." Late in the previous year, Jonathan Edwards's sermon entitled *A Divine and Supernatural Light*, Immediately imparted to the Soul by the Spirit of God, had started a revival in the Connecticut valley which was the forerunner of "the Great Awakening" that came when George Whitefield visited New England in 1740. It has generally been supposed that the influence of the earlier revival did not reach as far as Boston. "The excitement," writes Palfrey, "which in Massachusetts had been confined to towns on or near Connecticut River, ceased after about six months."³ And the

¹ New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xliv. 251.

² F. Hatfield, *History of Elizabeth, N. J.*, pp. 338, 367, 568, 572, 629.

³ *History of New England*, v. 7.

Rev. Alexander McKenzie says, "But Boston was yet to feel its power."¹ The term "revival of religion" had been in use for a generation or so in New England, and church fasts were common at that period; but perhaps the fasts mentioned by Mr. Checkley indicate the influence in Boston of the movement begun by Edwards.

The annual Thanksgiving Day for 1735 came on Thursday, November 13, and Checkley notes that he preached all day. He also records that July 4 was Commencement at Cambridge and that it was a rainy day with northeast wind. That life in the days of the horse and the chaise was not without its excitements and even dangers, is shown by an accident that is thus recorded in the Weekly Journal of Monday, July 7:

On Friday last the Day of the Commencement at Cambridge, a Person belonging to Milton, being mounted on his Horse, and riding homewards, was met by a Chaise which run against his Leg, and broke the same so dangerously, that his Life is in great hazzard.

¹ Memorial History of Boston, ii. 231. Dr. McKenzie's account, it must be confessed, is somewhat confusing. He says:

The new life began to appear in 1734, under the powerful preaching of Jonathan Edwards, at Northampton. It spread to the surrounding towns. It aroused the interest of the Boston churches. Dr. Colman wrote to Dr. Edwards for an account of the work, which was given in a letter long afterward published in London. The Boston ministers kept their people interested, and circulated among them Dr. Edwards's letter and several sermons which had been influential in the movement. The remarkable interest in the valley of the Connecticut was not of long continuance; partly, it would seem, because so many had quickly felt the new life, and had come under its control, or turned away from it. But Boston was yet to feel its power.

Edwards's letter to Colman was dated November 6, 1736, and was printed in abstract in the Appendix to the Rev. William Williams's *Duty and Interest of a People, among whom Religion has been planted, to Continue Stedfast and Sincere in the Profession and Practice of it*, published at Boston in 1736. The letter was printed in full in London in 1737 under the title of *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in the Conversion of Many Hundred Souls in Northampton, and the Neighbouring Towns and Villages of New-Hampshire in New-England*. This was reprinted in Boston in 1738. The London editors speak of "the Neighbouring Towns and Villages of New-Hampshire in New-England." This natural error was corrected by the Boston editors to "the Neighbouring Towns and Villages of the County of Hampshire, in the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England."

At the time when Edwards started his movement, Whitefield was an undergraduate at Oxford. He first came to Georgia in 1738 and to Boston in 1740.

Among the most important items in the Diary are the burials recorded, and most of them were of Checkley's parishoners or neighbors. Unfortunately, however, he failed in many cases to give more than the surnames, so that identification is difficult; but extracts from the New England Weekly Journal for that year throw light upon many of the items.

January 18, "old Cap^t Bennet buried." This was John Bennet, styled a blacksmith, and probably in his early days a mariner, who had a dwelling-house at the South End, and seems to have owned a rather large piece of land stretching from Orange Street to the water.¹ The paper of Monday, January 20, states:

On Wednesday last died here Capt. John Bennet in the 89th year of his Age; A Gentleman well known and respected among us; and was decently Interr'd on Saturday last.

January 23, "Richard Flood buried." This man, too, was a mariner, and lived near the New South Church. He owned a house and land near the Bull Wharf; and Samuel Adams administered upon his estate.²

January 29, "old M^r Cunningham buried." This was Andrew Cunningham, a Scotchman, who was a resident of Boston as early as 1684, and lived on Newbury (now Washington) Street near the corner of Essex. He was the founder of his family in Boston and died January 27, 1735, aged 81.³

March 13, "M^r Burgain buried." This was Robert Burgain, mariner.

April 16, "M^r Allen dy'd," and April 19 "M^r Silence Allen buried." The Weekly Journal of April 21 states: "Last week died Mr. Silence Allen, Cordwainer, a Person well known and respected among us." He had married January 20, 1692, Esther, daughter of Enoch Wiswall of Boston,⁴ and had been admitted to full communion with the New South Church May 7, 1727.

April 23, "Cap^t Arthur Savage buried." He was a man of some consequence in the town and has already been referred to

¹ Suffolk Probate Files, no. 6672.

² Ibid. no. 6677.

³ New England Historical and Genealogical Register, iv. 305, lxi. 303.

⁴ Ibid. xl. 59.

in our Transactions.¹ The Weekly Journal of Monday, April 28, stated :

On Wednesday last the Remains of Arthur Savage, Esq; whose Death we mention'd in our last, were decently Interr'd. We are inform'd that he has left a Legacy 25 l. per Annum for some term of Years, to the Poor of the Town of Boston.

May 24, "Madam Oliver buried." This was Governor Belcher's sister and she was of sufficient social prominence in the town to have her death noted in any diary. The Weekly Journal of Monday, May 26, said :

On Wednesday Morning died and on Saturday last was decently and honourably Interred, Madam Elizabeth Oliver, Relict of the late Honourable Daniel Oliver Esq; and Sister to His Excellency Governour Belcher.

June 4, "Cap^t Dorby buried." The Weekly Journal of Monday, June 2, said: "Yesterday died in an advanced Age Capt. Eleazer Darby of this Place."

June 9, "Deacon Powning buried." This was Daniel, the son of Henry and Elizabeth Powning, in his 74th year, who had been dismissed from the Old Church, and on August 7, 1720, was admitted to full communion in the New South. The Weekly Journal of Monday, June 9, speaks of him as follows: "On Friday last died here Mr. Daniel Pounding, Deacon of the New South Church; and who for many Years has had the care of the Powder-House." Sewall mentions him several times, and on January 20, 1719-20, mentions a visit to his mother, who must have flattered the Judge, for he records: "Mrs Powning will be 90. years old next February; I gave her two Crowns, which she very kindly received. Is very hard of hearing, very loansome, spake very well of my Match."

July 15, "Mr John Fitch buried." The Weekly Journal of Monday, July 14, records: "On Thursday last died here Mr. John Fitch, only son of the Hon. Col. Thomas Fitch, in the 26th year of his age." He had received his A.B. at Harvard in 1727, his A.M. in 1730, and had married Martha, daughter of Anthony Stoddard.²

¹ Publications, vi. 47.

² This Anthony Stoddard — he married Martha Belcher, a sister of the Madam Oliver whose burial is recorded by Mr. Checkley — who was born in 1678, who graduated at Harvard College in 1697, and who died in 1748, should not be confused with his first cousin, the Rev. Anthony Stoddard, who was also born

September 3, "Madam Palmer buried." The Weekly Journal of Tuesday, Sept. 2, has: "On Thursday night last died here Madam Palmer, the virtuous Consort of the Hon. Judge Palmer, and we hear is to be Interred tomorrow." It is probably her house, near Fort Hill, that Checkley records as having been struck by lightning on July 28.

November 15, "M^{rs} Luce buried." The Weekly Journal of Tuesday, November 18, makes brief mention of this death: "On Monday night last Mrs. Elizabeth Luce, the consort of Mr. Peter Luce, died in a Convulsion Fit after a very short illness." The Boston News-Letter of November 14 states that she was "Sister to Col. Estes Hatch."

December 2, "M^r Jⁿ Davenport buried." This was the son of Addington and Elizabeth Davenport. He graduated at Harvard in 1721, married in 1733 Abigail, daughter of Thomas Hutchinson, and died on November 27, 1735, at the age of 32. The Weekly Journal of Tuesday, December 2, has:

On Thursday last died here much lamented, Mr. John Davenport, in the Prime of Life, he had an Education at Harvard College, and was for Some Years, a beloved Tutor in that Society — we hear he is to be interr'd this Day.

Mr. Checkley mentions two other burials that are worthy of note.

April 19, "Rev^d M^r Tayler's wife of Milton buried." John Taylor graduated at Harvard in 1721, was ordained over the church in Milton in 1728, and continued there till his death in 1749. He married April 9, 1730, Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, who was probably a sister of the wife of the Rev. Joshua Gee of Boston.

April 1, "Dr Colmans Daug^r Turil buried at Medford." This was Jane, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Colman of the Church in Brattle Square, who was born in 1708 and married at the age of eighteen to the Rev. Ebenezer Turell, pastor of the church in Med-

in 1678, who also graduated at Harvard in 1697, but who died in 1760. The grandfather of Mrs. Fitch was Simeon Stoddard, whose sister Lydia married Samuel Turell and became the mother of the Rev. Ebenezer Turell mentioned in the text. Hence Turell, who graduated at Harvard only six years before Fitch, and Anthony Stoddard, the father of Fitch's wife, were first cousins.

ford, who has been immortalized by Holmes in his poem entitled "Parson Turell's Legacy."¹ Mrs. Turell died on March 26 at the early age of twenty-seven, leaving an infant son who died the following year. Mr. Turell did not long remain a widower, for the *Weekly Journal* of Tuesday, October 28, stated that "On Thursday Evening last the Rev. Mr. Turell of Medford, was married to Mrs. Lucey Davenport, daughter of the Hon. Judge Davenport of this Town." He thus became a brother-in-law of the John Davenport whose burial took place on December 2, and the two men had been classmates at Harvard.

The severity of the cold and the great quantity of snow that fell might well have made 1735 an "old fashioned winter," and a sufficient comment on the extent to which the cold got into the buildings is Mr. Checkley's entry for Sunday, January 19: "It was so cold a Lords Day that the water for Baptism was considerably frozen." March seems to have been a particularly stormy month with every kind of weather from thunder and lightning to snow. On June 14 is found this item: "in some places there have been this week considerable frosts (& some Ice) which much hurt and Spoild the English Grain;" and again, on October 30, occurs the record of such a severe snow storm and cold that a man was found frozen to death.

During the year several casualties of local importance are mentioned, such as the striking by lightning on April 7 of the ball on the steeple of the Old South Church, and on June 28 of the drowning of the only son of Robert Hadwin, a lad twelve or thirteen years of age. He had gone in swimming just below the Common and had ventured beyond his depth.

On July 7 is recorded the burning of Dr. Rand's "Still House," but the *New England Weekly Journal* of Monday, July 14, gives the building a slightly different name: "On Monday last a fire broke out at the South End of the town in a small building improved by Dr. Rand for boiling Varnish &c. which was soon burned to the Ground but the Fire did no other damage." The owner of this building was probably Dr. Isaac Rand (1718-1790) of Charlestown and the father of the much more celebrated Dr. Isaac Rand of Boston.²

¹ See also p. 220, above.

² Wyman, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown*, ii. 785-786; Thacher, *American Medical Biography*, ii. 13-16.

July 29 must have been a day of excitement, for in the early morning came the attempt to poison the Scarlet family. The Weekly Journal of August 4 gives a vivid picture of this "horrid Attempt [that] was made here" last Tuesday "to poison Mr. Humphry Scarlet of this Town, Victualler, his Wife and two Children" by two negroes in their employ, a man named Yaw and a boy named Cæsar, who put lumps of "Arsenick" or ratsbane into a skillet of chocolate that was being prepared for breakfast. The long examination of these negroes is interesting, and their attempt to entangle a young negro woman in their crime met with a sudden end when she testified that she had herself been slightly poisoned by tasting the chocolate left in the skillet. The sequel is thus related in the Weekly Journal of Tuesday, September 2:

On Fryday last the two Negroes (lately mentioned) belonging to Mr. Scarlet, who were try'd a few days before at the Assizes held here, & found Guilty of putting Poison into a Skillet of Chocolate, with a design to Poison the Family, had their Sentence given them, which is this, They are to sit on the Gallows for the Space of one Hour, with a Rope about their Necks, and the End of it thrown over the Beam, after which they are to be Whip'd 39 Lashes each on the bare Back at the Carts Tail, between the Gallows and the Prison.

Later in the day came a tragedy near the water front. An attempt was made to open and clean an old well about thirty feet deep on Minot's Tee to the Long wharf, which had long been out of use, and into which had run sewage and other filth.¹ As the work progressed one of the workmen, John Torke of Boston, a married man between thirty and forty, was lowered into the well and as he descended seemed somewhat affected by the gas and was raised to the surface where the fresh air revived him. He then made a second attempt, going further down, and became too much overcome to assist himself in getting out, when John Mack Nobb, a young sailor from a neighboring vessel, went down on the rope; but on his reaching Torke the additional weight sent them both to the bottom, where the gases suffocated them past resuscitation.

Having spoken of church fasts and thanksgiving, let us now turn our attention to secular celebrations. Of these there were certainly

¹ New England Weekly Journal of August 4.

three, and probably four, in honor of the royal family. The birthday of Queen Caroline occurred on March 1. Though neither the *News-Letter* nor the *Weekly Journal* mentions this event in 1735, yet no doubt it was observed; and if so, its celebration was presumably not unlike the one three years earlier, thus recorded in the *Weekly Journal* of Monday, March 6, 1732:

Wednesday last being the Anniversary of the Birth of her most gracious Majesty Queen CAROLINE, who then enter'd the 50th Year of her Age, the same was observed here with Demonstrations of Loyalty and joy. In the Evening there were Illuminations, particularly his Excellency's Seat was finely Illuminated with several hundred Lamps.

Next in order came the accession to the throne of George II on June 11, thus reported in the *Weekly Journal* of Monday, June 16, 1735:

Wednesday last being the Anniversary of the happy Accession of our most gracious Sovereign King GEORGE the Second, to the Throne, when his Majesty enter'd the Ninth Year of his Reign, the same was observed here with the greatest Demonstrations of Loyalty and Joy: At Noon the Guns at his Majesty's Castle William, on board his Majesty's Ship Scarborough, and other Ships in the Harbour were discharged: His Excellency our Governour & several other Gentlemen were elegantly entertain'd at Dinner, by Capt. Durell,¹ on board the Scarborough: And in the Afternoon the Regiment of Militia in this Town were mustered, and being drawn together in a Body on the Common, were reviewed by his Excellency, attended by a great Number of the principal Gentry in Town & Country, and Officers paying the proper Standing Salute as they pass'd along. After which his Excellency, and his honourable Attendants, repair'd to a spacious Tent prepared for them on the Common, from whence his Excellency Review'd the Regiment in their March out of the Field, the Officers handsomely performing the proper Salute. The Regiment passing thro' the Main Street, repair'd to King-Street, where, after performing the Manual Exercises, Firing three Rounds, and giving three loud Huzza's, an innumerable Company of Spectators joining with them, (his Excellency viewing them from the Balcony of the Council Chamber,) each Company was drawn off and dismiss'd: And the Evening concluded with abundant Expressions of Loyalty & Joy.

¹ Capt. Thomas Durrell. See Publications of this Society, viii. 244.

The third royal celebration took place on October 11 in honor of the King's coronation, and is thus described in the News-Letter of Thursday, October 16:

Last Saturday being the Anniversary of His Majesty's Coronation, the same was observed by the Discharge of the Guns at Castle William; those on board His Majesty's Ship Scarborough, &c. with other Demonstrations of Loyalty and Rejoycing.

Closely following the coronation came the King's birthday on October 30, and this, in spite of the snow and cold, was celebrated by a bonfire and fireworks on Dorchester Neck, and one poor fellow, losing his way in the storm, was frozen to death. In the Weekly Journal of Tuesday, November 4, we read:

Thursday last the 30th of October, being the Birth Day of His Majesty King GEORGE the Second, our most gracious Sovereign, when His Majesty entred the Fifty third Year of his Life, the same was observed here with all possible Demonstrations of Loyalty and Joy. At Noon the Guns were discharged at His Majesty's Castle William, and His Excellency's Troop of Guards, with two other Troops from the County were muster'd on the Occasion, and drawn up in King-Street. At Night His Excellency's Seat, with divers others, were finely Illuminated on this joyfull Occasion.

The account of this affair in the News-Letter of November 6 concludes as follows:

A large bonfire was made at Dorchester-Neck, and many curious Fire-Works play'd off; but by reason of thick Weather and a great Fall of Snow, the Splendor thereof was much diminish'd, being scarce visible in Town.

The same Night, one Joseph Green of this Town, a labouring Man, who had been employed the Day before to assist in erecting a Mast for the Bonfire at Dorchester Neck, lost his Way as he was going from the Fire to some House or Barn, and the next Morning was found dead in the Snow.¹

¹ In these days such a death seems extraordinary. The following extract is taken from the Boston Evening Post of Monday, January 24, 1737:

Friday last one *Richard Williams*, a Chimney-Sweeper at the South End of the Town, was found in his Bed froze to Death, where in all probability he had lain since Tuesday Night, having never been seen by the Neighbours since that Time.

Shortly after this, on November 5, came a similar celebration at the same place, it being the anniversary of the famous Gunpowder Plot of 1605 in which Guy Fawkes was the active figure; and this day too was followed by fatalities, for four young men crossing the harbor in a canoe were drowned. The Weekly Journal of Tuesday, November 11, says:

On Wednesday last being the 5th of November, the Guns were fired at Castle William, in Commemoration of the happy and remarkable Deliverance of our Nation from Popery and Slavery, by the Discovery of the Gun Powder Plot in the Year 1605; and in the Evening there were Bonfires, and other Rejoycings.

The same Evening four young Men of this Town went in a Canoe (as we are informed) to see the Bonfire on Dorchester Neck, and have not been heard of since; which makes it fear'd they were drowned in their return home.

A further account of this fatality is contained in the News-Letter of Thursday, November 20:

Four Youths that went over from this Town, in a small Boat, to Dorchester Neck, to see the Diversions There in the Evening after the 5th Instant, having not been heard of for some Time after, People had various Conjectures concerning them; but it was most generally tho't they were drowned in their return Home; and accordingly it now appears that they were, the Bodies of two of them having been found, one on Monday and the other on Tuesday last; The Name of one was John Darling,¹ an Apprentice belonging to Mr. Salt the Cooper, and Son of Mrs. Darling a Widow in Charlestown; the other's Name was John Hemmenway of this Town, an Apprentice to Mr. Joseph Hill, Rope-maker: The Bodies of the other Two are not yet found.

This anniversary had been celebrated since the early days of the colony, and as the eighteenth century advanced the celebrations became more boisterous and the turbulent spirits of the community caused the authorities much anxiety. At first there were processions in which effigies of the Pope and the Devil were carried about the streets and finally burned, but near the time of the Revolution, when

¹ In the Weekly Journal of November 25, the name given is James Darling. This is correct. He was the son of George and Abigail (Reed) Darling. See Wyman, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown*, i. 276.

popular feeling against the English ran high, the images of unpopular officials like Governor Hutchinson, General Gage, and others were added. Just how early these celebrations began in New England is hard to say, but Judge Sewall speaks of one in 1685 as if it were a regular occurrence, for he says:

Mr. Allin preached Nov^r 5. 1685 — finished his Text 1 Jn^o 1. 9. mentioned not a word in Prayer or Preaching that I took notice of with respect to Gun-powder Treason. . . . Although it rained hard, yet there was a Bonfire made on the Co^mmon, about 50 attended it. Friday night [November 6] being fair, about two hundred hallowed about a Fire on the Co^mmon.¹

Most of the almanacs mentioned the day, as this very one of Bowen's, where against November 5 is found "Powder Plot;" and Ames's almanac for 1735 has under November the lines —

Gun Powder Plot
We ha'nt forgot.

In his issue for 1740 Ames says:

Now for the Old Plot, the POPE goes to Pot
The curst Pope stands in the Way, or I had told you the Day.
What Heaven decrees, no Prudence can prevent.

And in the issue for 1746 we read:

Powder-Plot is not forgot;
'T will be observed by many a Sot.

In the issue of 1767 he has so much to say about the growing political troubles that he merely adds the line — "Powder plot most forgot;" while in the issue for 1772 his allusion brings in the name of Captain Preston of the British troops engaged in the Boston Massacre:

To burn the Pope, is now a joke,
for a design he miss't on,
to sap that mansion
which dares pension
Your famous Butcher *Preston!*²

¹ Diary, i. 102, 235, 368, 462.

² S. Briggs, *Essays, Humor and Poems of Nathaniel Ames*, pp. 139, 440.

Dr. Nathaniel Ames the younger in his Diary under November 5, 1765, says, "Pope Devil and Stampman exhibited together."¹

Captain Francis Goelet, a New York merchant visiting Boston in 1750, was evidently amused and impressed by what he saw on Pope Night, for he records in his Journal:

After dinner went with some of the Comp^y to ye North End the Towne Bo^t Some Limes &c where we saw the Devil and the Pope &c Carried ab^t by the Mob represented in Effegy very drole soone after see two more, but the Justices feareing some Outrages may be Committed Put a Stop to them.²

It seems that as the custom grew, in Boston there became two rival processions, one from the North End and one from the South End, each carrying images of the Pope and the Devil, and that they marched towards each other and had a skirmish in which the mob joined and the victorious band then burned both sets of images. In 1765 the popular leaders of the town put a stop to this useless quarrel, pacified the two factions, formed them into a Union, and brought to an end the noisy and turbulent celebration. This Union observed the day in a quieter manner with a supper at night; and in this was a nucleus that was of service to the patriots in the approaching struggle.³ John Boyle mentions this same occurrence:

1765, Nov. 5. A Union established between the South and North End Popes. Capt. M^o Intosh on the Part of the South, and Capt. Swift, on the Part of the North. It has heretofore been the Practice on the even'g of the 5th of November, for the two Popes to engage, by which means many Persons have been greatly maimed. This Union and one other more extensive, may be looked upon as the only happy Effecte arising from the Stamp Act.

This Union was undoubtedly hastened by the fatalities of the year before, for Boyle in his Journal for November 5, 1764, says:

A Child of Mr. Brown's at the North-End was run over by one of the Wheels of the North-End Pope and Killed on the Spot. Many others were wounded in the evening.⁴

¹ Dedham Historical Register, ii. 27.

² New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxiv. 61.

³ Palfrey, History of New England, v. 339; Snow, History of Boston (1825), p. 263.

⁴ John Boyle's Journal, p. 87. For these extracts from this unprinted Journal,

This accident impressed others, for John Rowe mentions it in his Diary, as well as the fact that it took place in the forenoon:

1764 Nov. 5. A sorrowful accident happened this forenoon at the North End—the wheel of the carriage that the Pope was fixed on run over a Boy's head & he died instantly. The Sheriff, Justices, Officers of the Militia were ordered to destroy both S^o & North End Popes. In the afternoon they got the North End Pope pulled to pieces. they went to the S^o End but could not Conquer upon which the South End people brought out their pope & went in Triumph to the Northward and at the Mill Bridge a Battle begun between the people of Both Parts of the Town. The North End people having repaired their pope, but the South End people got the Battle (many were hurt & bruised on both sides) & Brought away the North End pope & burnt Both of them at the Gallows on the Neck. Several thousand people following them, hallowing &ct.¹

Several years ago Mr. Albert Matthews² made some mention of the observances of Pope Day and quoted from articles in Boston newspapers of 1821 written by some man who remembered the celebrations of the day, though it is probable that after the outbreak of the Revolution the day was less frequently celebrated in New England.³ Perhaps the one place where it lingered longest is in the old town of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, which clings to many an ancient custom, and there even to the present time something is done on the evening of November fifth, though the performance has changed to the blowing of horns and the carrying about of pumpkin lanterns by boys, none of whom know the origin of the celebration,⁴ and even the name has been changed to Pork Night.

John Albee of New Castle, New Hampshire, in 1892 bore testimony to the survival of the custom in Portsmouth up to that year, saying that he had been a resident of New Castle for the preceding twenty-six years and that he remembered a celebration in that town each of those years.⁵ He also furnished clippings from two of the local newspapers which told of the doings of 1892, as follows:

owned by a member of the Palfrey family, I am indebted to Professor George L. Kittredge.

¹ Letters and Diary, p. 67.

² I am indebted to Mr. Matthews for aid in the preparation of this paper.

³ Publications of this Society, viii. 90, 91, 92 104.

⁴ Dialect Notes, i. 18, 217.

⁵ Journal of American Folk-Lore, v. 335.

The celebration of the anniversary of Guy Fawkes' night on Saturday by the young people of this city was not so extensive as in former years, no doubt owing to the condition of the streets, but nevertheless small bands paraded the streets and made the early part of the evening hideous with music (?) from the tin horns they carried for the occasion. Some carried the usual pumpkin lanterns. The ringing of door-bells was also extensively indulged in. Very few of the paraders knew that the celebration was in keeping of the old English custom of observing the anniversary of the discovery of the famous gunpowder plot to blow up the House of Commons.¹

Chaps in this city had their annual blow-out on Guy Fawkes' night, and in parts of the city the toot of the horns was something terrific. Some grotesque pumpkin lanterns were seen, and altogether the celebration was evidently enjoyed by the boys. Portsmouth is not alone in this peculiar observance, for down at Marblehead the night of the 5th of November is remembered by a huge bonfire on the neck, around which the chaps with horns dance in fantastic glee. The blaze Saturday night on the M. N. was a bigger one than usual.

It's a queer custom the youths of Portsmouth and Marblehead have.²

In the early times the day was observed in most of the large New England towns as well as in Boston, and there are many casual references to it. The Rev. Samuel Deane of Portland makes mention of it twice in his Journal: "1770 November 5 Several popes and devils tonight;" "1771 November 5 No popes nor devils here tonight at my house."³ The Rev. Ezra Stiles speaks of it at Newport in 1771, saying "Powder Plot, — Pope &c carried about;" and again on November 5, 1774, he says, "This Afternoon three popes &c. paraded thro' the streets, & in the Evening they were consumed in a Bonfire as usual — among others were Ld. North, Gov. Hutchinson & Gen. Gage."⁴ John Adams, attending court at Salem on Wednesday, November 5, 1766, says:

Spent the evening at Mr. Pyncheon's, with Farnham, Sewall, Sargeant, Col. Saltonstall &c. very agreeably. Punch, wine, bread and cheese,

¹ Portsmouth Republican News, Monday, November 7, 1892.

² Portsmouth Daily Evening Times, November 7, 1892.

³ Journals of the Rev. Thomas Smith and the Rev. Samuel Deane, pp. 329, 331.

⁴ Literary Diary, i. 182, 470.

apples, pipes and tobacco. Popes and bonfires this evening at Salem, and a swarm of tumultuous people attending.¹

Coffin gives an excellent account in much detail of the way the day was celebrated in Newbury and says that the last celebration was in 1775, the principal cause of its discontinuance being an unwillingness to displease the French, whose assistance was deemed so advantageous at that time. As the observance of the day at Newburyport was probably typical of those in other large New England towns, it is interesting to quote what Coffin says of it:

In the day time, companies of little boys might be seen, in various parts of the town, with their little popes, dressed up in the most grotesque and fantastic manner, which they carried about, some on boards, and some on little carriages, for their own and others' amusement. But the great exhibition was reserved for the night, in which young men, as well as boys, participated. They first constructed a huge vehicle, varying at times, from twenty to forty feet long, eight or ten wide, and five or six high, from the lower to the upper platform, on the front of which, they erected a paper lantern, capacious enough to hold, in addition to the lights, five or six persons. Behind that, as large as life, sat the mimic pope, and several other personages, monks, friars and so forth. Last, but not least, stood an image of what was designed to be a representation of old Nick himself, furnished with a pair of huge horns, holding in his hand a pitchfork, and otherwise accoutred, with all the frightful ugliness that their ingenuity could desire. Their next step, after they had mounted their ponderous vehicle on four wheels, chosen their officers, captain, first and second lieutenant, purser and so forth, placed a boy under the platform, to elevate and move round, at proper intervals, the moveable head of the pope, and attached ropes to the front part of the machine, was, to take up their line of march through the principal streets of the town. Sometimes in addition to the images of the pope and his company, there might be found, on the same platform, half a dozen dancers and a fiddler, whose

‘Hornpipes, jigs, strathspeys, and reels
Put life and mettle in their heels,’

together with a large crowd who made up a long procession. Their custom was, to call at the principal houses in various parts of the town, ring their bell, cause the pope to elevate his head, and look round upon the audience, and repeat the following lines.

¹ Works, ii. 201.

'The fifth of November,
 As you well remember,
 Was gunpowder treason and plot;
 I know of no reason
 Why the gunpowder treason
 Should ever be forgot.
 When the first King James the sceptre swayed,
 This hellish powder plot was laid.
 Thirty-six barrels of powder placed down below
 All for old England's overthrow :
 Happy the man, and happy the day
 That caught Guy Fawkes in the middle of his play.
 You'll hear our bell go jink, jink, jink ;
 Pray madam, sirs, if you 'll something give,
 We 'll burn the dog and never let him live.
 We 'll burn the dog without his head,
And then you 'll say the dog is dead.
 From Rome, from Rome, the pope is come,
 All in ten thousand fears ;
 The fiery serpent's to be seen,
 All head, mouth, nose and ears.
 The treacherous knave had so contrived,
 To blow king parliament all up alive.
 God by his grace he did prevent
 To save both king and parliament.
 Happy the man, and happy the day,
 That caught Guy Fawkes in the middle of his play.
 Match touch, catch prime,
 In the good nick of time.
 Here is the pope that we have got,
 The whole promoter of the plot.
 We 'll stick a pitchfork in his back
 And throw him in the fire.'

After the verses were repeated, the purser stepped forward and took up his collection. Nearly all on whom they called, gave something. Esquire Atkins and Esquire Dalton, always gave a dollar apiece. After perambulating the town, and finishing their collections, they concluded their evening's entertainment with a splendid supper; after making with the exception of the wheels and the heads of the effigies, a bonfire of the whole concern, to which were added, all the wash tubs, tar barrels, and stray lumber, that they could lay their hands on. With them the custom was, to steal all the stuff. But those days have long since passed away.¹

When we read such accounts as this, what wonder is it that towns should pass ordinances against bonfires on the night of November fifth? Even as early as 1753 these celebrations had caused enough

¹ History of Newbury, pp. 249-251.

anxiety for the Province to pass "An Act for further preventing all riotous, tumultuous and disorderly Assemblies or Companies of Persons, and for preventing Bonfires in any of the Streets or Lanes within any of the Towns of this Province."¹ Finally, in many places all the sport was obliged to take place in the day time. And in Boston, where just before the Revolution the two rival processions with hostile intentions towards one another created such a tumult, leading citizens used their influence to unite the two factions and then subscribed money for a supper and a more peaceful entertainment for the would-be participants. And so this old New England celebration gradually died out except in Portsmouth and possibly one or two other places, and even there it has undergone so great a change that none of its original features are left, and few if any of the participants know the significance of the day or even its old-time name.

DIARY²

JANUARY

1 []

2 fair pleasant warm.

3 Rain w^d E. and S.E.

¹ Massachusetts Province Laws, iii. 647, 997, iv. 78, 617; v. 87, 459, 1122.

² On the first page is written in ink:

Rev. Mr. Checkley of Boston appears to have been the author of the notices entered in this Almanac. M.A.S.

May 4, 1837.

The top of the volume has been trimmed, thereby cutting off a few entries. Where these are undecipherable, square brackets are used.

There are no entries on the following days: January 15, February 18, 19, March 6, 19, July 8, October 8, November 8, 24, 26, December 17, 18.

The word "fair," and that only, is entered on the following days: February 26, March 25, May 7, June 10, 16, 21, July 3, 21, August 6, October 7.

The words "fair pleasant," and those only, are entered on the following days: February 6, 7, 10, 27, March 22, 26, April 17, 18, May 5, 6, 14, 16, 26, 27, 28, June 25, 26, 27, July 19, 22, 24, 30, August 11, 15, 16, 18, 25, September 6, 12, 13, 15, 20, October 2, 10, 18, 22, November 5, 10, 22, 25.

The following days are labelled "hot," "cold," "cool," "dry," "moderate," "seasonable," "cloudy," or in some such indefinite way: January 6, 7, 10, 24, 25, March 8, 10, 11, 12, April 9, 11, 21, 30, May 1, 9, 10, 21, 31, June 5, 7, 13, July 17, August 21, 23, 30, September 4, 18, 23, 29, 30, October 17, November 3, 4, 11, 29, December 6, 11, 13, 23.

- 4 fair warm.
- 5 E.¹ pr^d all day. W^d N.E. Snow and Stormy at night.
- 8 fair & cold
- 9 fair very cold.
- 11 fair warm & pleasant.
- 12 E. Sac^t pr^d all day — moderate
- 13 Rain w^d S.E.
- 14 fair warm.
- 16 Cloudy p.m. pretty much rain Even:
- 17 fair very high wind & Extream cold.
- 18 very cold Day old Cap^t Bennet² buried.
- 19 E. M^r Foxcroft. A.M. Snow very Stormy & cold p.m. the water for Bap^m frozen. This Day (being Lords Day) it began to Snow before morning Service was over and increas'd very much. The afternoon was very Stormy it Snow'd fast & wind blew very hard at N.E. The storm increased towards Even: — & the night following it rained & blew as hard as I almost ever knew it. The next Day fair very cold and Slippery. Several vessells cast away in the Storm a Lords day night. It was so cold a Lords Day that the water for Baptism was considerably frozen.
- 20 fair very cold & Slippery
- 21 fair more moderate.
- 22 fair pleasant. flurry of Snow Even: then very cold.
- 23 Extream cold Richard Flood³ buried.
- 26 E. pr^d all Day. Cloudy. some Small rain & foggy.
- 27 Cloudy foggy. Nieg^r Barter's Daughter buried.
- 28 fair pleasant. Cloudy Even: little Snow in night.
- 29 fair pretty cold old M^r Cunningham⁴ buried.
- 30 fair cold Day.
- 31 pleasant.

FEBRUARY

- 1 fair a.m. Cloudy p.m. w^d E. Snow at night very Stormy the most snow we've had this winter.
- 2 E. pr^d all Day. Wet Snow a.m. not very cold.
- 3 Some Snow. & some rain. w^d S.E.
- 4 Cloudy. then fair moderate
- 5 fair & cold.
- 8 pleasant moderate weather.

¹ See p. 272, above.² See p. 281, above.³ See p. 281, above.⁴ See p. 281, above.

- 9 E. Sac^t: pr^d all day
- 11 fair cold.
- 12 fair. Cloudy p.m. Snow at night about 3 inches deep.
- 13 fair. Exceed: cold p.m. & Even :
- 14 Exceed Smart cold last night & to day. moderate at Even:
- 15 Wet Snow good part of day W^d S.E.
- 16 E. Chang'd wth M^r Chauncy. a.m. fair pleasant
- 17 Rain last night. foggy & rain to day
- 20 fair pleasant Cap^t Goold's Kinswoman buried.
- 21 fair pleasant Spring like weather.
- 22 fair pleasant — but raw East: w^d
- 23 E. Changed wth M^r Gee a.m. pleasant
- 24 Cloudy foggy M^r Nicholson's Child buried.
- 25 Rain. W^d S.E. James Ferguson buried much rain at night and High wind.
- 28 Cloudy. raw E. Wind.

MARCH

- 1 rain. w^d E.S.E. A.M. fair & very warm p.m.
- 2 E. pr^d all Day. fair A.M. Cloudy p.m. rain Even: w^d N.E.
- 3 w^d N.E. Cloudy foggy. & rain
- 4 Cloudy. then fair and windy.
- 5 wind last night Exceed: high at South.
- 7 Little Snow in morning.
- 9 E. Sac^t pr^d all day. very Smart cold.
- 13 fair. Windy p.m. & Even looks like Storm M^r Burgain¹ buried.
- 14 Little rain. fair p.m.
- 15 Several Showers p.m. Light² & very hard Thunder. This day we had Several Thunder Showers. they rose from the west and northwest very black. it rained very hard and hail'd. Thunderd & Lightned often & one Clap exceeding hard.
- 16 E. M^r John Cotton² all day. fair pretty cold.
- 17 Snow all day & very Stormy. as much Snow as has fell at a time this winter This morning about 7 a Clock it began to Snow. wind at South and then came north. it Snow'd all day. & was very Stormy w^d at N. West as much Snow fell this day as has at one time this winter. it was a moist heavy Snow but if light & dry would have been (it is Judgd) a foot deep
- 18 fair & cold. Several flurrys of Snow wth wind towards Even:

¹ See p. 281, above.² See p. 275, above.

very cold but fair. Several flurries of Snow towards night & in Even: with wind and very cold. the lighthouse boat overset and one man drown'd

20 fair. Cloudy Even.

21 very Stormy it Snow'd all day. w^d E. & N.E. more Snow than has fell this winter at once. Early in the morn: it began to Snow and was very Stormy wind East. it held Snowing & was very stormy all day w^d E. & N.E. as Stormy a Day as we have for years together. and more Snow fell this day than has fallen at once the Winter past.

23 E. pr^d for M^r Byles A.M. D^r Sewall pr^d for me A.M. fair.

24 Cloudy then Exceeding stormy all Day: vid: backside¹ Cloudy in the morning then rain and Stormy. the storm increas'd all afternoon and Even: it rained it snow'd and it hail'd. and the w^d at N.E. blew as hard as Ever I knew it in my life. Most Houses shook very much and great damage was done to the Wharfs and shipping. the wind and storm abated about midnight. A more terrific storm scarce known.

27 The Annual Fast. pr^d all day. fair pleasant.

28 fair Springlike weather

29 fair. looks like fowl weather p.m.

30 E. M^r Byles A.M. I pr^d for M^r Chauncy A.M. rain Even wind & Snow

31 Great deal of rain. M^r M^cLorry² Child buried.

N B. more storms of rain Snow and wind this month than all the Winter & for many winters past.

APRIL

1 rain in morn: then fair D^r Colmans Daug^r Turil³ buried at Medford

2 rain.

3 rain A.M. fair p.m.

4 Cloudy foggy weather.

5 Cloudy foggy a.m. fair p.m. Cap^t Homans arrived.

6 E. Sac^t: pr^d all day. fair pleasant.

7 fair pleasant. a.m. rain Thund^r & light: p.m. This day in afternoon it came up very Black then rained and hail'd in midst of which

¹ What follows is written on the other side of the leaf.

² This name is uncertain. It might be "M^cLong" or "M^cLorey." On May 2, 1734, Mr. Checkley married "Thomas McLory & Isabella Hood" (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxviii. 186).

³ See p. 283, above.

a great deal of Sharp Lightning & hard Thunder. The lightning struck the Ball upon the Steeple of the old South Church but hurt nothing else.

- 8 fair cool.
- 10 fair. raw wind.
- 12 fair warm day.
- 13 E. M^r Chauncey. A.M. very warm hazy.
- 14 fair & very warm.
- 15 rain. Stormy w^d N.E. very cold
- 16 fair. M^r Allen ¹ dy'd.
- 19 fair. M^r Silence Allen buried and Rev^d M^r Tayler's wife ² of Milton.
- 20 E. Chang'd wth M^r Byles A.M. very hot.
- 22 warm pleasant.
- 23 fair pleasant Cap^t Arthur Savage ³ buried.
- 24 raw cold. some rain towards Even:
- 25 rain. cold Storm w^d N.E.
- 26 rain. cold & stormy w^d N.E.
- 27 E. M^r Chauncey A.M. I pr^d for D^r Sewall a.m. very raw cold. & some rain w^d N.E.
- 28 rain last night Cloudy to day a.m. fair p.m.
- 29 very squally and cold. a consider^{le} frost last night.

MAY

- 2 fair. M^r Greenleafs child buried.
- 3 fair M^r Hall's Son buried.
- 4 E. Sac^t: pr^d all day. rain morn: fair p.m.
- 8 fair. raw cold p.m.
- 11 E. pr^d all day. warm and windy.
- 12 Cloudy. rain.
- 13 fair. M^r Jackson buried. a Shower wth Light^s and Thunder. at 1 a Clock
- 15 went to Natick and pr^d Lecture there.
- 17 fair pleasant. hot weather.
- 18 E. chang'd wth D^r Sewall a.m. pleasant. Shower p.m.
- 19 fair M^{rs} Webber buried.
- 20 fair. very windy p.m.
- 22 Fast at old Ch: for reviv^l of religion ⁴ &c

¹ See p. 281, above.

² See p. 281, above.

³ See p. 283, above.

⁴ See p. 279, above.

- 23 Stormy w^d at N.E. rain & cold.
 24 rain last night and to day. w^d N.E. very cold. Madam Oliver¹
 buried
 25 E. M^r Eliot² A.M. I pr^d for M^r Byles A.M. fair weather
 29 fair pleasant. M^{rs} Deming buried.
 30 raw E. w^d foggy A.M. M^{rs} Hall buried.

JUNE

- 1 E. Sac^t M^r Cotton³ (of Hampton) P.M. little rain.
 2 fair. pretty Dry time.
 3 foggy then fair.
 4 fair & hot. Cap^t Dorby⁴ buried.
 6 Weather very hot. Deacon Powning dy'd about 5 h. p.m.
 8 E. M^r Cushing⁵ (of Dover) a.m. Weather cooler.
 9 fair. dry time. Deacon Powning⁶ buried.
 11 Cloudy a.m. little rain.
 12 fair pleasant but dry weather.
 14 very dry time. and cold for season vid: overleaf.⁷ very dry
 weather for a Consid⁸ time. and in some places there have been this
 week considerable frosts (& some Ice) which have much hurt and Spoild
 the English Grain.
 15 E. M^r Green⁹ (of Barnstable) P.M.
 17 dry weather. little Sprinkling.
 18 fair. very sharp lightning in Even: & Some rain.
 19 fair. hot and dry weather.
 20 a Shower p.m. wth Thund^r & Light⁶.
 22 E. M^r Chauncy a.m. S. w^d very high.
 23 Great deal of rain. Thund^r & Light⁶ p.m. then fair.
 24 Fast at our Ch: for Revival of religion. vid: overleaf.⁸ This
 day was kept by our Church in their turn as Day of fasting and prayer
 for the Revival of Religion &c M^r Abbot prayd & D^r Sewall preachd
 A.M. M^r Cooper prayd and I preachd p.m.
 28 Cloudy looks like a Storm. This Day M^r Hadwins son (a Lad
 of about 12 years old) was drown'd at Bottom of the Co^mon.

¹ See p. 282, above.² See p. 276, above.³ See p. 276, above.⁴ See p. 282, above.⁵ See p. 276, above.⁶ See p. 282, above.⁷ What follows is written on the other side of the leaf.⁸ See p. 276, above.⁹ What follows is written on the other side of the leaf.

- 29 E. Sac^t: M^r Ward Cotton¹ p.m.
 30 fair hot.

JULY

- 1 []
 2 consid^{le} want of rain.
 4 Comencment at Cambridge. some rain. w^d N.E.
 5 Some rain last night. Cloudy drisling to day rain towards Even:
 6 E. M^r Cushing² (of Salsbury) A.M. Rain last night. and several hard Showers to day.
 7 fair D^r Rand Still House burnt. This Day D^r Rand Still House took fire just before one a Clock & was presently burnt down.³ Several other Houses in danger but preserv'd.
 9 Some rain p.m. little Thund^r & Light^s.
 10 Mary Jepson came to live wth us.
 11 Cloudy then fair w^d cool at N.E.
 12 Cloudy foggy then fair.
 13 E. Chang^d wth M^r Byles A.M. rain wth Thund^r & Light^s p.m. & in Even: This Day (being Lords Day) there was a shower with some Thunder & Lightning just before the afternoon service. and towards night & in y^e Even: there was abundance of rain Thunder & Lightning. M^r Loring's Barn (at Hull) burnt by y^e Lightning about 8 a Clock in Even: and 2 more places Struck with y^e Thunder in that Town.
 14 Cloudy. some rain.
 15 Some rain a.m. fair p.m. M^r John Fitch⁴ buried.
 16 fair very hot.
 18 very hot. a shower p.m. & Even: wth Thund^r & Light^s.
 20 E. D^r Colman a.m. M^r Hinsdel⁵ p.m. little rain p.m.
 23 little rain then fair.
 25 Looks like fowl weather Even:
 26 Cloudy. Rain. w^d N.E.
 27 E. Sac^t: pr^d all day. little rain a.m. fair p.m.
 28 very hot. Rain wind terrible Thunder &c p.m. vid. Mid:⁶ This afternoon it came up very black then the wind blew very hard. in midst of which it rained very hard and we had terrible Thunder & Lightning the Thunder struck and did much damage to Deacon Williams's

¹ See p. 276, above.² See p. 277, above.³ See p. 284, above.⁴ See p. 282, above.⁵ See p. 277, above.⁶ What follows is written on another leaf in the middle of the book.

House in y^e Co^mon. it also struck Judge Palmer's House and struck down 2 men in the street. The Thunder as Loud as I ever I heard espes: 2 Claps of it.

29 very hot. 2 men dy'd in well on Long wharfe by reason of the Damp &c. This day 2 men lost y^e lives going down into a well on Long Wharfe y^e Damp Suffocated and chilled y^m and they were gone at once. This Day M^r Scarlet's negro poisond his Master Mistress and 2 Children by putting Rats bane into y^r Chocolet¹

31 fair. little rain p.m.

AUGUST

1 fair little rain p.m. very much Light^s at night. This afternoon a Small shower. and in the Even: abundance of Lightning. The Lightning continued greatest part of the night.

2 hot Muggy. Several Showers.

3 E. M^r Cushing² (of Haverhil) a.m. Showers p.m. & in y^e Even: much rain some Thund^r & gr^t deal of Light^s.

4 fair pleasant. A Shower just as meeting began p.m. and Towards Even: it came up very black in the N. West. Then rained very hard. with abundance of Lightning and some Thunder but not very hard.

5 fair a.m. rain p.m. w^d N.E.

7 Cloudy. Great deal p.m. & Even:

8 Cloudy.

9 abund: of rain very Stormy & high tide vid: overleaf.³ This morning it set in for to rain and rained Exceed: hard greatest part of the Day. The wind blew very hard at E. & S.E. The tide was very high did some Damage to wharfs &c as much rain fell to Day as (I think) I ever knew.

10 E. prd all day. Cloudy. Rain. Rain hard in Even:

12 fair a.m. a Shower p.m. wth Thund^r & Light^s.

13 A shower wth Thunder & Lightn^s about 5 a Clock in morn: and several showers in the day with Thunder & light^s. fair Even: This morn: about 5 a Clock we had a shower with Thunder & Lightning. another shower between 7 & 8 Several afterwards.

14 cool morn: fair pleasant.

17 E prd all day. fair. hot day.

19 Cloudy. some rain p.m.

20 cool morn: fair pleasant.

22 pleasant.

¹ See p. 285, above.

² See p. 277, above.

³ What follows is written on the other side of the leaf.

- 24 E. Sac^t: pr^d all day. great deal of rain.
- 26 Fast at M^r Welsted's for revival of relig: M^r Burd's ¹ Child buried.
- 27 Extreame hot. M^r Brattle olivers child buried.
- 28 very hot. M^{rs} Ethelridge buried.
- 29 fair very hot.
- 31 E. M^r Cooper A.M. a Shower p.m. wth Thund^r & Lightning

SEPTEMBER

- 1 fair pleasant. M^r Bennet buried.
- 2 fair a.m. very hard shower p.m. Light^s in Even: & then fair
- 3 cool morn: Madam Palmer³ buried.
- 5 w^t to Newtown pr^d M^r Cotton's Lecture. rain a.m. fair p.m. •
- 7 E. pr^d all Day. cool morn:
- 8 Cloudy raw N.E. w^d Rain Stormy Even:
- 9 Abund: of rain last night & to day A.M. w^d Exceed: high at N.E. fair at night. Last night & to day a.m. a very Great Storm of wind and rain. it was very raw yesterday w^d at N.E. & in Even began to rain & blow hard. The wind continued Exceed: high (and it rained very hard all y^e time) til near noon next Day.
- 10 fair very cool. M^r Ethridge's Child buried.
- 11 fair cool morn:
- 14 E. Chang^d wth Chauncey a.m.
- 16 fair. warm Hazy weather sun very red
- 16 } These two days the weather very warm & Hazy not a Cloud in
- 17 } the sky these 2 days & y^e sun very red and fiery.
- 17 warm Hazy weather. sun very red.
- 19 fair cool.
- 21 E. Sac^t: pr^d all day. very warm Hazy Sun very red
- 23 Fast at Charlestown for reviv^l of relig: very foggy a.m.
- 24 M^r Stimpson³ ordained at Malden.
- 25 rain last night & this morning. then fair.
- 26 fair cold N.E. W^d
- 27 Carry'd my Wife and Child to Watertown fair pleasant
- 28 E. Chang^d wth M^r Byles A.M.

OCTOBER

- 1 [] N.E. wind.
- 3 fair pleasant my wife and Child returnd from Watertown

¹ Perhaps this name is "Burch'a."

² See p. 283, above.

³ See p. 279, above

4 fair pleasant. w^d E.

5 E. M^r Cambell¹ a.m. I pr^d at Almshouse a.m. Rain at night very Sharp light^s and some Thunder in Even: This Day (being Lords day) it was Cloudy & warm. In the Evening it rained. There were several very sharp flashes of Lightning accompanied wth pretty loud Thunder. rain allmost all the night following.

6 Cloudy wind N.E.

9 fair very pleasant.

11 windy. Cloudy. Some rain p.m.

12 E. M^r Eliot A.M. fair cool.

13 fair cool morn:

14 fair a.m. Cloudy raw & windy p.m. Rain at night.

15 Rain w^d South.

16 fair cold and very windy.

19 E. Sac^t: pr^d all day. foggy. then fair pleasant.

20 Some rain p.m.

21 Cloudy. Some rain.

23 Cloudy. Rain. w^d S.

24 Cloudy. some Rain w^d S.

25 fair cool. cold & windy at night.

26 E. Chang^d wth M^r Byles. fair and cold all day pr^d to young men in Evening.

27 fair & cold.

28 Cloudy. Snow p.m. very Stormy at night. w^d N.E. This day it was Cloudy & very raw a.m. wind at N.E. in after noon it Snowd fast & continued all Even: & night was very Stormy. y^e next morn: Snow was about 8 inches deep. and y^e Day following it Snow'd great part of day. the first Snow this fall. & a Great deal of it.

29 Snow 8 inches deep. Snow good part of y^e day.

30 Fair morn: Snow p.m. very Stormy even: This Day in afternoon it began to Snow and Snowd very hard & was very stormy til between 10 & 11 Clock at night. In night it was very cold & blew very hard. The same Day (being Kings Birth Day) a consid^le number of people went over to Dorchester neck to make a Bonfire & play off fireworks in Even: and one poor man (named Green) was found next morn: in Snow frozen to Death.²

31 fair & very cold more Snow on ground than has been at this time for many years.

¹See p. 279, above.

² See pp. 284, 287, above.

NOVEMBER

- 1 fair very cold
- 2 E. pr^d all day fair very cold.
- 5 fair pleasant.¹ This Day (being Gun powder treason)² a Great number of people went over to Dorchester neck where at night they made a Great Bonfire and plaid off many fireworks. afterwards 4 young men coming home in a Canoe were all Drownd. They were not heard of til 17 & or 18 Day & then two of them were taken up dead on y^e flatts near the Channel and brot to Boston where the Jewry sat upon y^m the next Day they were buried one at Charlestown where his friends liv'd the other in this Town. . .
- 6 fair. cold day.
- 7 fair cold.
- 9 E. M^r Willord ³ (of Biddiford) a.m. fair pleasant.
- 12 Cloudy & warm. fair p.m.
- 13 The Annual Thanksgiving pr^d all day fair very pleasant.
- 14 rain w^d E.
- 15 fair. M^{rs} Luce ⁴ buried. Mr Hatch's sons came to live at our House
- 16 E. Sac^t: M^r James Cushing ⁵ p.m.
- 17 fair. Cloudy p.m.
- 18 Rain last night & to day.
- 19 fair & cold.
- 20 fair cold. M^r Jos: Hills Prentice burid y^t was drownd see over-leaf ⁶
- 21 fair. looks like fowl weather. M^{rs} Blins sister buried
- 23 E. old M^r Hancock ⁷ (of Lexington) p.m. Fair pleasant
- 27 fair cold. Cloudy p.m. little Snow & rain at night
- 28 fair slippery raw cold.
- 30 E. Pr^d all Day. little rain a.m. fair p.m.

DECEMBER

- 1 fair but very cold.⁸
- 2 fair. M^r Jn^o Davenport ⁹ buried.

¹ This entry is on the other side of the leaf, and of course was not made until about a fortnight later.

² See pp. 288-295, above.

³ See p. 278, above.

⁴ See p. 283, above.

⁵ See p. 277, above.

⁶ This refers to the entry under date of November 5. See p. 288, above.

⁷ See p. 278, above.

⁸ This entry is somewhat uncertain.

⁹ See p. 283, above.

- 3 fair a.m. Cloudy p.m. & warm.
- 4 Great deal of rain last night & to day. w^d E. & S.E.
- 5 Wind very high last night & to day fair & cold.
- 7 E. M^r Breck¹ a.m. Stormy Snow all day.
- 8 fair and cold. M^r Burbeen's son buried.
- 9 fair cold.
- 10 pleasant. M^r Cole buried.
- 12 Pretty deal of rain. M^r Jn^o Hoods Child buried.
- 14 E. Sac^t: pr^d all Day. fair. cold.
- 15 fair moderate
- 16 Rain. fair p.m. Rich^d Estabrooks buried.
- 19 My wife sick of fever.
- 20 many people sick wth colds fever and sore throats.
- 21 E. M^r Cleverly a.m. M^r Mather. p.m. I was confin'd to my Chamber by great cold &c Snow very stormy.
- 22 fair very cold.
- 24 fair. moderate. one of M^r Hatchs w^t home
- 25 fair. very smart cold day.
- 26 very smart cold day. more moderate towards Even:
- 27 Cloudy. Snow a little p.m.
- 28 E. M^r Chauncy A.M. a very smart cold Day.
- 29 fair and cold.
- 30 Stormy. Snow all day.
- 31 Stormy Snow allmost all day Concludes y^e year.

On behalf of Mr. LINDSAY SWIFT, Mr. HENRY H. EDES communicated a Memoir of STANLEY CUNNINGHAM, which Mr. Swift had been requested to prepare for publication in the Transactions.

¹ See p. 278, above.

MEMOIR
OF
STANLEY CUNNINGHAM, A.B.
BY
LINDSAY SWIFT

THE first American ancestors of our late associate Stanley Cunningham were Andrew Cunningham, a Scotchman who came to Boston about the year 1680, and his wife Sarah Gibson. Their son was William Cunningham, who married Elizabeth Wheeler, both of Boston. Then came James Cunningham of Boston and his wife Elizabeth Boylston of Dedham, the parents of Andrew Cunningham who married Mary Lewis of Boston. To them was born Charles Cunningham, an old shipowner and merchant of the firm of A. & C. Cunningham, typical Bostonians of an earlier day. His wife was Roxalina Dabney of Boston. Their son, Frederic Cunningham (H. C. 1845), Stanley's father, was a Boston merchant associated with his cousin Charles William Dabney, Jr. (H. C. 1844), in business at 67 Commercial Wharf. He married, in Boston, March 14, 1850, Sarah Maria Parker, a daughter of William Parker and granddaughter of Bishop Samuel Parker, and died in Boston March 27, 1864, leaving three children: Julia, now the wife of William Lawrence, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts; Frederic, a graduate of Harvard in the Class of 1874; and Stanley who, as we have already seen, was in the seventh generation of American Cunninghams. The name of Stanley, an old family name in the Parker family, came by inheritance to the subject of this memoir.

Frederic Cunningham lived in the upper part of Chestnut Street, at No. 4, where Stanley was born January 10, 1856, and where he

lived during his boyhood and till his graduation from college. He attended the Boston Public Latin School, then in Bedford Street, from 1866 to 1872, and in the fall of 1873 entered Harvard College with the Class of 1877, graduating in due course. This Class was destined to number among its members men of real distinction and achievement, among them Sigourney Butler, Governor William Eustis Russell, both members of this Society, Edward Henry Strobel, at the time of his death General Adviser to his Siamese Majesty's Government, and Abbott Lawrence Lowell, recently elected to the Presidency of Harvard University. Although Cunningham played no conspicuous part in the annals of the Class, either as a scholar or as an athlete, he was the associate of these and other members of a class of unusual animation and virility, possessing, then and since, its fair share of brilliance and renown. Both in school and college we may think of him in the words of his kinsman and our associate, Mr. Henry W. Cunningham, as "thoroughly a Boston boy in all his habits, thoughts, and associations."

For two years after graduation, Cunningham was a clerk at 21 Pearl Street and then, for several years, did business as a cotton broker. About 1883 he became a member of the firm of Barnes & Cunningham, stock brokers. This firm dissolved partnership in May, 1895. In 1897 Cunningham became Treasurer of the Electric Tool Company of New York with offices at 78 Devonshire Street, Boston; and from 1900 till 1902 he was a note broker at the same place. Later he took the superintendency of the Safe Deposit Vaults of the Old Colony Trust Company, in Temple Place, a position he was obliged to resign on account of illness. After a year spent in Denver, Colorado, he returned, much improved in health, to spend the rest of his life at Cohasset, where he died, suddenly, on Thanksgiving Day, November 28, 1907.

On October 16, 1879, Mr. Cunningham was married at Trinity Church, Boston, to Mary Ann Crehore, daughter of George Clarendon Crehore of Boston. They had six children:

- i. Stanley, Jr., born November 20, 1880; a graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1901; a member of the Phi Beta Kappa and the A. D. Club; married to Esther, daughter of Edward Burnett, and granddaughter of James Russell Lowell; now a civil engineer in New York.

- ii. George Clarendon, born October 25, 1882; a graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1904; now engaged in the banking business in Denver, Colorado.
- iii. Mary, born April 12, 1885.
- iv. Francis, born July 23, 1889; a student at Harvard College in the Class of 1911.
- v. Alice, born January 2, 1892.
- vi. Alan, born January 11, 1895.

The death on August 23, 1903, of Mrs. Cunningham, a woman of great worth and personal charm, was a terrible affliction to her husband and children, but Mr. Cunningham found comfort in his bereavement through the fine character of his elder daughter, who presided over the household after her mother's death. During the early years of his married life his home was at 229 Beacon Street, then at 167 Newbury Street, and from 1889 to 1893 at 148 Marlborough Street. Subsequently, and until his visit to Colorado, he resided in Brookline.

Mr. Cunningham was elected a member of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts in April, 1893. He was also a member of the Essex County Club, the University Club of New York, and of the Exchange Club in Boston.

It would be no kindness to the memory of a departed associate of this Society to dwell unduly upon the record of a life spent quietly and uneventfully. They who knew Stanley Cunningham remember him as gracious in manner and speech, popular among his friends, and with a gentleman's tolerance and courtesy toward all men. Writing of him as a classmate and later as a pleasant and affable acquaintance, I recall him especially as a part of that vivid mosaic — a college class. Each variegated bit seems necessary to make up the complete pattern, and when one or another drops out, the aspect of the whole changes, gently, yet sadly and inevitably. Into that harmonious whole of thirty-five years ago, Stanley Cunningham fitted admirably and played his part well. To some of his more intimate friends he was known as the "Old Man" from a certain old-fashioned cautiousness of manner, which, by contrast with the general audaciousness of those about him, only endeared him the more to those who knew him best. A man who has earned an affectionate nickname from his fellows has really not lived in vain.

Cunningham had a genuine interest in the history and antiquities of his birthplace, and perhaps would have done something effective as a member of this Society had not business affairs, the loss of his wife, and the state of his health necessarily distracted his attention from such congenial pursuits. It was probably true of him, as we may well believe it to be true of many business men who, confronted as they often are with other men trained to the practice of writing and the art of expression, become shy and uncommunicative, when, in truth, the substance of what they might wish to say or write is really of value, even though it be unadorned by literary skill. It seems a pity to lose all benefit of the knowledge of our "silent partners," for a Society like this should encourage into action the natural hesitancy of members who think well but who have come to believe themselves incapable of formal expression. In talking with Stanley Cunningham I always found him interested in the best things and conversing well about them, yet always restrained, I feel sure, by a real modesty which held him back from performance. Would that we might have drawn from such a quiet, undemonstrative man at least one communication for our Publications before the opportunity was gone. It would have been a satisfaction to the Society, to his family, and to himself.

APRIL MEETING, 1909

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 22 April, 1909, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The PRESIDENT appointed the following Committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices, — Messrs. THOMAS MINNS, NATHANIEL PAINE, and JAMES ATKINS NOYES.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts, — Messrs. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS and WILLIAM LOWELL PUTNAM.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES announced the gift to the Society, from the granddaughters of the late Rev. Dr. Joseph Allen, of a collection of letters written to Dr. Allen, chiefly by his classmates. Dr. Joseph Allen, the father of our late associate the Rev. Dr. Joseph Henry Allen, graduated at Harvard College in 1811, and was long a minister at Northborough, Massachusetts.¹ The thanks of the Society were extended to the Allen family for its acceptable gift.

¹ See Publications of this Society, vi. 288.

On behalf of Mr. MORRIS H. MORGAN, Mr. EDES communicated the following paper :

THE FIRST HARVARD DOCTORS OF MEDICINE.

It is commonly believed by those who are interested in the history of medical education at Harvard that the degree of Doctor of Medicine was never given before the year 1811 except *honoris causa*, and consequently that there was no such thing here as the ordinary M.D. "in course" before that year. This belief rests in the main upon the following paragraph, which appeared in the Quinquennial Catalogue of 1890, the year when that catalogue was first printed in English instead of Latin, and which has been repeated in the three succeeding Quinquennials :

Before 1811 the degree conferred upon graduates of the Medical School was Bachelor of Medicine. In 1811 the degree of Doctor of Medicine was granted to the class of that year, and to all earlier graduates then living; and all graduates since 1811 have received this degree.

The two sentences in this paragraph contain literal truths, but the first does not go far enough. No notice is taken in it of the fact that before 1811 the degree of M.D. in course could be obtained by examination seven years after the degree of M.B. had been conferred upon the graduate. Recently, while reading the original records of the Corporation for another purpose, I found that six graduates holding the M.B. took advantage of this provision and received the doctorate in course before 1811. Later I was informed by Dr. Thomas F. Harrington, author of the History of the Harvard Medical School, that he had become aware of the fact while collecting material for his book, but that for various reasons he had deemed it best to follow the Quinquennial record in the case of these men. Actually, however, he went even farther than the Quinquennial in obscuring what had happened in these cases when he wrote: "Bachelor of Medicine was the degree conferred, and prior to 1811 this was the only medical degree regularly given in course. The first Doctors of Medicine were the graduates of 1811."¹ Furthermore, in both the Quinquennial and the History, two of my six men are set down as *honorary* M.D.'s, but the other four appear without "(Hon.)" appended to their degrees;

¹ History of the Harvard Medical School, i. 111.

thus both books are inconsistent with their own principles. The editor of the first English Quinquennial still happily lives, but he cannot remember how he came to confer an honorary degree in the two cases to which I refer. As there are some other errors in the printed catalogues, it seems worth while to relate afresh the history of our early medical degrees.

In 1784, soon after the Medical School (or Institution, as it was then called) had been established, provision was made for two degrees, Bachelor in Physic (or, as we now say, Bachelor of Medicine) and Doctor in Physic (that is, Doctor of Medicine). The former degree was to be given at the time of graduation; the latter seven years later. The regulations for the two degrees are to be found in the records of the meeting of the Corporation held November 29, 1784,¹ approved by the Overseers December 17, 1784.² The regulation for the doctorate is as follows:

That Bachelors in Physic of seven years standing, and who, during that time, have been Practitioners in Physic, may receive a degree of Doctor in Physic, upon their being approbated by the medical Professors, after being examined by them in the presence of the Governors of the University, and such other Gentlemen as shall chuse to attend, and delivering and defending one Dissertation in the Latin, and one in the English language, on such disease, or other useful medical topic, as shall be assigned them by the said Professors, with the consent of the President; — the Latin Dissertation to be printed at their own expence.

This provision, that the doctorate might follow upon further evidence of capacity given some years after the degree of bachelor had been reached, was no doubt adopted in deference to precedent set by medical schools abroad and by the first school in America at Philadelphia, where the M.B. was given to the graduating class from 1768 to 1791 inclusive, and where M.D. was obtainable three years after M.B., — a practice, however, abandoned in favor of M.D. for all the graduates of 1792 and thereafter.

Under the regulations to which I have referred, the first Harvard degrees in course were given to the graduating class of 1788, and the record of the Corporation at their meeting on Commencement Day, July 16, 1788, is as follows:

¹ College Book, viii. 185 ff.

² Overseers' Records, iii. 300 ff.

George Holmes Hall M^r and John Fleet M^r who passed their examinations on the 8th Instant for the degree of Bachelor of Physic, this day produced certificates to the President from the Medical Professors of their being qualified for said degree. These certificates being communicated by the President to the Corporation and Overseers the degree was voted; and both these young Gentlemen were publicly admitted to it, immediately after the Masters had received their degree; the President having previously presented them to the Overseers in the following words,

Vir Excellentissime Gubernator &c &c &c

Presento vobis hosce viros, quos, examine habito, Professores medici judicârunt idoneos esse ad gradum in medicina baccalaurealem suscipiendum. Placeatne ut suscipeant?

The Governor signifying the consent of the Body the President used the following form in admitting them.

Pro auctoritate mihi commissa admitto vos ad gradum in medicina baccalaurealem, vobisque trado hoc diploma, atque do et concedo omnia insignia, jura et privilegia, dignitates ac honores, quibus ad istiusmodi gradum uspiam gentium evecti ornantur vel ornari debent.¹

An interesting account of the difficulties thrown by certain members of the Massachusetts Medical Society in the way of these first graduating ceremonies was written by Dr. Ephraim Eliot and is published in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society² and in Harrington.³ But the worthy doctor wrote his recollections thirty-five years after the event and speaks of Fleet and Hall as the first Doctors instead of as the first Bachelors of medicine. This degree of M. B. was given to succeeding classes from 1789 to 1810 inclusive.

The first doctorate in course was conferred upon the same John Fleet (A.B. 1785, A.M. 1788), who heads the list of bachelors, exactly seven years, as provided in the regulation, after he took his first degree in medicine. The record of the Corporation, at their meeting on Commencement Day, July 15, 1795, runs thus:

The President having certified that John Fleet, M.B a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Physic, has complied with the Regulations required by the Medical Institution for such degree

Voted, that he be admitted to the degree of Doctor of Physic.⁴

¹ College Book, viii. 264.

² 1 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vii. 177 ff.

³ History of the Harvard Medical School, i. 112 ff.

⁴ College Book, viii. 387.

The Overseers concurred on the same day.¹ The Latin dissertation of this first Harvard ordinary Doctor of Medicine was duly printed, and I have seen a fine uncut copy of it in the Boston Medical Library. There is no copy in the Harvard Archives in the College Library, as there ought to be. Perhaps some reader of this paper may possess one which he would present for preservation here. The title-page, which was obviously drawn up from a foreign model, bears these words:

Dissertatio Inauguralis Medica, sistens Observationes ad Chirurgiae Operationes pertinentes, apud interrogationem publicam prolocutas et sustentatas die Julii III, habitam, quam annuente summo numine ex auctoritate Reverendi Josephi Willard, Praesidis &c. Honoratorum et Reverendorum Curatorum et etiam Senatus Academici consensu, necnon Institutionis Medicae Decreto, pro gradu doctoratus eruditorum examini submittit Johannes Fleet. — *A ferro tandem petere Sanitatis praesidia convenit.* Heister. Bostoniae: Typis Thomae Fleet, jun. MDCCXCV. 4°, pp. 11.

It is obvious that Dr. Fleet's was an ordinary degree taken in course. Yet in the Quinquennial under his Harvard College Class (1785) he appears as "M.D. (Hon.) 1795," and when we turn to the part of the book which is devoted to honorary degrees, we find him all by himself in 1795 — the fact being that no honorary degrees whatever were given in that year. Some critics object to my use of the term "in course" as applied to Fleet's doctorate; but the term belongs as well to the doctorate as to the M.B. In academic language it means "in regular succession," as contrasted with "out of course" and "honorary" degrees. It is certain that this was the distinction recognized at the time of these early doctorates; for on June 3, 1801, the Corporation voted "that the fee for the Degree of Doctor of Physic in course be the sum of 30 dollars."²

The second doctor in course was William Ingalls, A.B. 1790, A.M. 1793, M.B. 1794, M.D. 1801. The records in his case are just like those in the case of Fleet.³ His Latin dissertation was not printed until 1803 (two copies in the College Library), but the date on its title-page shows that his public examination took place July 11, 1801. The page is modelled after that of Fleet, and the subject was "Ob-

¹ Overseers' Records, iv. 192.

² College Book, viii. 480.

³ July 15, 1801, College Book, viii. 484; Overseers' Records, iv. 335.

servationes ad abscessum bursalem pertinentes." A second edition appeared in 1804, and a third in 1810 (both in the College Library). In the Quinquennial, Ingalls appears as "M.D. (Hon.) 1801" in the list of his College Class, and later among the honorary degrees of 1801. Dr. Harrington also enters both Fleet and Ingalls as honorary doctors.

Third comes Samuel Adams with similar records.¹ He was not a graduate of Harvard College, and he is one of the inconsistencies of the Quinquennial and of the History of the Medical School. In both he appears in the list of medical graduates of the year 1794, thus: "M.B.; M.D. 1802," escaping the "(Hon.)." I have sought in vain for a copy of his dissertation or for any memoir of him.

The fourth doctor was James Jackson, the well-known Boston physician, and professor in the Medical School (A.B. 1796, A.M. 1799, M.B. 1802, M.D. 1809). The records of the Corporation and Overseers are in this case lacking, for the reason that at the Commencement of 1809 no lists of the recipients of any degrees whatever, except honorary, are to be found in those records. The Corporation Record² for all ordinary degrees says "See Files;" but the files are not to be found. The Overseers' Records (V. 206) note that the President read the names of all candidates for A.B. and A.M. and that the Board voted in concurrence with the Corporation. Under these circumstances it is fortunate that a Boston newspaper, the *Columbian Centinel* for September 2, 1809, gives lists of all the degrees, including James Jackson, M.B., as receiving the degree of M.D. The list of honorary degree men appears in a different paragraph. I find also in the College Library a pamphlet entitled "Remarks on the Brunonian System. By James Jackson, A.A. & M.M.S.S. . . . Boston, 1809." On the second leaf are these words: "An inaugural dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Medicine, read and defended before the Rev. President and Medical Professors of Harvard College, at a public examination, on the 25th day of August, 1809." Whether Dr. Jackson also wrote and published a Latin dissertation, in accordance with the regulation, I cannot say; but it is clear that he became a doctor in course in 1809. In the Triennial Catalogue for 1812 he appears as "M.D. 1809," and so in succeeding Triennials and Quin-

¹ August 25, 1802, College Book, viii. 500; Overseers' Records, iv. 361.

² August 30, 1809, College Book, ix. 152

quennials until the last issue in 1905, where 1809 is arbitrarily changed to 1811. Dr. Harrington gives the fact correctly but inconsistently with his general statement.

The fifth and sixth doctors were Benjamin Shurtleff and Robert Thaxter, both attaining the degree in 1810. The record of the Corporation is as follows:

Voted, that the Degree of A.B. be conferred on the following Candidates (see list) The Degree of A.M. (see list) Medical Degrees on the following Persons Eleazar Clap M.D. Benjamin Shurtleff M.D. Joshua Thomas M.B. Robert Thaxter M.D. — The Honorary Degrees (voted before see p. 170).¹

In this record Eleazar Clap² is by an error recommended for M.D.; really he received only M.B. in that year. President Webber, formerly responsible for the records, had suddenly died shortly before this meeting, and the slip is due to some new hand. The Overseers' Records (V. 296) are correct. That only Shurtleff and Thaxter received the doctorate is proved by the lucky preservation of a portion of the original manuscript which was used in the Meeting House by Professor Henry Ware, who presided at Commencement in that year.³ It is dated Aug. 29, 1810. The *admissio* to the degree is not preserved, but the *presentatio* runs thus:

Vob. presento Dom. B. Sh:⁴ & Dom. Rob: Thaxt. qui gradum in Med. Bac: antehac donati sunt; — et examine publice habito et dissertationibus enunciatis dignos se praeberunt qui gradum in medicina Doctoris, pro more Universitatis hujusce, susciperent.

In the Triennials and Quinquennials from 1812 to 1885 inclusive, Shurtleff rightly appeared as "M.D. 1810;" the first English catalogue in 1890 made him "M.D. 1811," and so also later catalogues and Dr. Harrington. Thaxter is rightly given as "M.D. 1810" in Triennials from 1812 to 1845; the erroneous date 1811 was first printed in the Catalogue of 1848, and is found in later catalogues and also in Harrington. I have been unable to discover printed dissertations by either of these two doctors.

¹ August 29, 1810, College Book, ix. 179.

² So spelled here and in all Triennials until that of 1830, when the spelling "Clapp" appears thirteen years after the man's death.

³ Harvard College Papers, vi. 61.

⁴ That is, Benjamin Shurtleff.

They were the last under the old regulations, for in the next year, 1811, came the change of practice under which the degree of M.D. was given immediately at graduation. This change was brought about through a memorial addressed to the Corporation by Professors Warren and Dexter. The Corporation Records on the matter (College Records, X. 28, meeting of March 11, 1811) are defective, referring for the memorial and the reasons for the change adduced in it to "Files" which have disappeared. Fortunately, the Overseers' Records (V. 329 ff) give both the memorial and the joint action upon it in full. The matter was brought before them on March 21 and a committee appointed to consider it. On March 28 this committee reported, and the memorial and resulting votes are entered in the record of the meeting of that day. The memorial was as follows:

To the Hon^l & Rev^d Corporation of Harvard College

The Medical professors of the University undersigned beg leave respectfully to represent, That there is in their Medical Institution a provision for a distinction between the Degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Medicine, which distinction ought, they conceive to be abolished, for the following reasons.

1st. It is unnecessary: — for those who attain the Degree of Bachelor in Medicine enjoy all the rights and privileges of Doctors, being at once admitted to practice, & consult with their professional brethren.

2^{dy}, It is contrary to the established custom of all the flourishing Medical Institutions within our knowledge, particularly those of Philadelphia & New York in this country; and of Edinburgh and Glasgow in Great Britain; for in these, the Degree of Doctor in Medicine is conferred on persons, who have attended two or three courses of medical Lectures, and have undergone a satisfactory examination as to the professional knowledge they have acquired.

3^{dy}, It is contrary to the interest of the university, because the students of medicine, being unwilling to go through the slow process of being made Doctors, with a very few exceptions, resort to other Medical Institutions, where they receive, at once, the highest honours of their profession, in consequence of which, this University, after affording all the advantages of Medical education, loses the tribute of respect and gratitude which those Students strongly feel towards the Institution, by which they are introduced to their profession.

The Medical professors beg leave therefore, respectfully to request, That in future, the Degree of Doctor in Physick, be conferred on the

same terms, as those on which the Degree of Bachelor in Physick has hitherto been conferred. That especially, the fees for obtaining the degree of Doctor, be the same as those now paid for the degree of Bachelor in Physick; the expence of a medical education being greater, than that of other professions, that those who have heretofore obtained the degree of Bachelor in Physick be allowed the degree of Doctor in Physick; and lastly, that Examinations be no longer held in publick.¹

John Warren

Aaron Dexter.

¹ This custom is peculiar to this University, and has the effect of preventing Students from offering themselves here, as they generally are sufficiently apprehensive of examinations, even where not publick, still more where they are exposed to all who choose to attend.

N. B. The requisitions will still be greater, than those of other Medical Institutions, especially the Medical Society.

The concurrent vote was:

That the Degree of Doctor in Medicine shall in future be conferred on the same terms, as those on which the Degree of Bachelor in Medicine has heretofore been conferred, both as to the period of study, and the compensation or fee for the Degree; and that the Degree of Doctor in Medicine shall be also conferred upon all such persons as have heretofore been admitted to the Degree of Bachelor of Medicine; and that the examination for the medical degrees shall hereafter be had and conducted in such time and manner, as the president, with the advice of the Medical professors shall think proper.

Thus originated the peculiarity that distinguishes graduates of the medical from those of our other professional schools, such as Law and Divinity, which send forth only bachelors. It came about, as the memorial shows, partly to meet the competition of other medical schools, and partly because Doctors of Medicine as well as practitioners without a degree were ready to receive the newly graduated Bachelors on equal terms with themselves. But it was no doubt also largely due to the common use, certainly as old as Shakspeare's time and probably much older, of the word "doctor" as a synonym for "physician," which became so customary in America that people often forgot that the word meant anything else. I well remember an anecdote which Dr. Benjamin A. Gould (a Göttingen Ph.D.), the eminent astronomer and first President of this Society, was fond of telling, about his introduction as a speaker at some banquet of physicians. The presiding Galen said: "Dr. Gould, gentlemen,

— that is, they *call* him doctor, but he really *is n't* a doctor." But why confine ourselves to modern times, when everybody knows that the same notion was current in the days of Aristotle? The word *iarpós*, he remarks, "may mean either the practitioner, or the master of the art, or the man who has just finished his education in the art." It was idle for one medical school to struggle against so ancient a conception; and to serve seven years in order to win formally what was in practice at once bestowed upon the youngest fledgling might have seemed too much to Jacob himself. Accordingly at Commencement on August 28, 1811, the doctorate was conferred upon the graduating class, and also upon all the earlier graduates who had not yet received it. At least, that was the intention, but the list of earlier graduates as given in the Corporation Records¹ is not without what I may be permitted to call peculiarities. It does not include the name of Cushing Otis (A.B. 1789, M.B. 1792), who, however, appears in the Triennials of 1812-1839 as "M.D.," and in that of 1842 and following catalogues as "M.D. 1811." It does include Robert Thaxter, whom we have just seen receiving his M.D. in 1810. These two cases were probably mere slips. But it may be a different matter when we see the names of three dead men in the list: Ebenezer Crosby (*1788; he was of the Harvard College Class of 1777, but had never received an M.B. from Harvard though it was conferred upon him by Pennsylvania in 1780), John Clark (A.B. 1799, M.B. 1802, *1805), and Elias Mann (A.B. 1800, M.B. 1806, *1807), though not the names of all the dead who had received M.B. The Quinquennial and preceding Triennials have never bestowed the doctorate upon these three possibly favored ones. I say "possibly" because the conferring of degrees upon the dead by formal vote is not unknown in our annals, and the names of these three men were already among the "stelligeri" of the Triennial of 1809, so that their deaths should have been known to the Corporation of 1811. I mention these peculiarities of the list, but do not undertake to explain them further; perhaps some historian of the Medical School will attempt the solution. My object has been to show that we had six ordinary Doctors of Medicine in course before the year 1811, — Fleet, Ingalls, Adams, Jackson, Shurtleff, and Thaxter. This, I think, should be made clear in the Quinquennial of 1910.

¹ College Records, x. 48. The Overseers' Records (v. 360) give no lists.

It may be of interest to add a few words about the honorary degree of Doctor of Medicine in early times. This was first conferred in 1783 upon E. A. Holyoke and two years later upon Cotton Tufts. Both were Harvard men and among the incorporators of the Massachusetts Medical Society (founded in 1781); Holyoke was its first president. In 1786 the degree was given to the three professors in the new Harvard Medical Institution, Dexter, Warren, and Waterhouse. Of them, only Waterhouse had an ordinary doctorate (from Leyden in 1780); the other two were incorporators of the Medical Society. The records of the Corporation on these first five honorary doctorates are to be found in College Book, VIII. 119, 143, 199, 217, 221. Then follow 24 honorary doctorates before the year 1811, making 29 in all before that year. Of the recipients, 19 were graduates of Harvard College, 12 were incorporators of the Medical Society, 15 were fellows of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 6 of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and 4 of the American Philosophical Society. Most of the 29 were therefore educated gentlemen and no doubt all were experienced practitioners, but they had been trained in the days before it was possible to obtain an ordinary degree in medicine in this country, and only three of them seem to have received ordinary doctorates in Europe and only one the ordinary M.B. there. Hence it was natural for the University, when more fortunate opportunities were being provided for younger men, to recognize skill in the elder generation by conferring a degree which would hardly be given *honoris causa* to-day.¹ This was in accordance with a vote of November 2, 1784:² "Honorary degrees in Physic, which may be conferred on Gentlemen of great eminence in the Profession, as a reward of merit, shall be free from all fees."

The Rev. CHARLES E. PARK read the following paper :

EXCOMMUNICATION IN COLONIAL CHURCHES.

The old colonial custom of excommunication has been made the subject of frequent jesting criticism on the part of thoughtless persons of a later age, who claim to find in this custom an indication of the

¹ Prophecy is dangerous. While these pages were going through the press, Charles W. Eliot received from Harvard the honorary degree of M. D.!

² College Book, viii. 180; Overseers' Records, iii. 300.

tyrannous bigotry which characterized our forefathers. Our ancestors have been stigmatized as a self-righteous and a stiff-necked generation whose piety was of the repellant sort, and whose practices had the disastrous effect of making religion unattractive and even unchristian. There may be some justice in such criticism. There certainly is much injustice in it. Before we pass judgment upon the practices of a former age, it is necessary to have some sympathetic understanding of the standards of that age. Such an understanding of their standards, and such an acquaintance with the conditions in which they toiled, are sure to mitigate in large measure our easy condemnation of their custom of excommunication.

It is thus necessary, first of all, in order properly to understand the motive which led them to excommunicate, to know something of the nature and the purpose of that body from which the delinquent was cast forth. What was the colonial church? What was its constitution? What were its privileges and its limitations and its safeguards? Robert Browne was among the first to enunciate clearly that definition of a true church to which both Pilgrim and Puritan congregationalism gave final acquiescence. Browne gathered his ideas of the true church from the Bible — principally from the New Testament. To his way of thinking, a Christian Church was a body of professed believers in Christ united to one another, and to their Lord, by a voluntary covenant. The covenant was the constitutive element which transformed an assembly of believers into a Church. The church thus brought into existence by the banding together of an assembly of professed believers under the terms of a covenant, possessed a certain distinction, and exercised certain powers, and conferred upon its members certain privileges, which we, with our lax and easy-going modern notions of church organization, may find it somewhat difficult to grasp. For instance, the right to partake in the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper were essentially church prerogatives. The unattached believer, be he never so much a Christian, could not partake of these sacraments. The right to partake came only with his membership in a church. It was in church membership only that a Christian could seek and find the privilege of properly exercising all the acts of Christian worship. We see at once, then, that membership in a church was something very much to be desired. The unattached Christian could not worship God as perfectly and as

fully as he wished, because there were certain indispensable rites of worship which simply did not exist as individual rites, but only as church-rites. They could only be performed by the church. They could only be enjoyed by members of the church. To qualify as a church member, one must not only be a professed believer, which meant a baptized believer — one must also give visible proof of his profession in the rectitude of his conduct. The candidate for membership first notified the elders of the church of his desire, and submitted to an examination by the elders of his knowledge of the principles of religion, and of his experience in the ways of grace, and of his godly conversation among men. Having been approved by the elders, the candidate's name was then proposed for membership to the church, with the request that the brethren make inquiry regarding the candidate and report to the elders any just objections that might appear. If there was no objection forthcoming from any member of the church, the candidate was called before the church to make open confession of his sins and public profession of his faith. In the case of diffident women, this public appearance before the church might be omitted. At the time of his public appearance the candidate's friends in the church might offer their testimony to his good qualities and his fitness for church membership, either from their personal knowledge of him, or from such credible reports and reputation as might be current concerning him. After this, one of the ruling or preaching elders asked the church whether any man found any just exception to the candidate. Unless some insuperable objection were presented, the elder then asked the church to express their acceptance of the candidate into fellowship with them by lifting up their hands. This being done, the elder rehearsed over for the candidate's benefit the various heads of the church covenant, emphasizing the promises of grace, and the duties of faith and obedience and brotherly love and helpfulness, and asked the candidate if he agreed and consented thereto. Whereupon the elder assured him of the love and watchfulness of the church over him, and ended the ceremony with a short prayer. This latter portion of the ceremony, involving the taking and giving of covenant between the candidate and the church, must have been exceedingly beautiful and impressive. I make bold to read you the entire form as I find it in the records of the First Church in Boston. The candidate speaks as follows:

I do promise by the grace and help of the Lord Jesus that I will forsake all my former lusts and corruptions wherein at any time I have walked, and that I will give up myself to the Lord Jesus, making him my only Priest and Atonement, my only prophet and guide, my only king and law giver: and that I will yield professed subjection to him in this church, and all his ordinances therein, according to the gospel, and will walk with this church in mutual memberly love and succor according to God.

The church through its officer replies as follows:

We do promise in the name of this church and by the help of the Lord Jesus, we will walk towards you in brotherly love and holy watchfulness to the building up each other in the fellowship of Christ. The God that keepeth covenant and mercy for them that love him and observe his commandments, make us faithful herein to himself and one to another, for his own name's sake.

We may see from the foregoing that it was considered no small thing to become a church member, and that the candidate for membership must be examined as to penitence, profession of faith, and actual character before he could be admitted. The process was conducted with extreme care in order to ensure a membership of such as were really fit to be members. This jealous care in the matter of admitting candidates to church membership arose from the belief that a church was one homogeneous body of Christ, and the individuals were members thereof in particular. And the existence in that body of any single member who fell short of the requisite moral standard impaired the spiritual health and status, not of that member only, but of the whole church. The twelfth chapter of 1 Corinthians was perhaps the authority for this view: "Ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular. If one member suffer, all the members suffer with it. If one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it." The sin of the one was the sin of all. A church ceased to be a church if it continued to harbor within itself any member who was unworthy. The infection of his presence tainted the whole body, so that it ceased to be a church. Its sacraments became a mockery. It became what John Cotton called a church relapsed, and could reinstate itself only by renewing its covenant. A church might suffer relapse not only by harboring within itself an unworthy member, but also by allowing a non-church-member, no matter how godly a person he might be, to partake with it in its sacraments. The taint of his non-membership

in any church would spread over the church that received him at sacrament and would impair or destroy its existence as a church. In fact, John Cotton tells us that churches were even more particular than this: that not even a church member in good and regular standing could partake of the sacraments in a strange church except he bore a letter from his own church testifying to his membership and recommending him to the fellowship of the strange church. We may therefore gather together very roughly an idea of what the church was, and what it meant. It was a band of professed believers in Christ united to each other and to God by a voluntary covenant. As to its size, Cotton gives it as his opinion that it must consist of no less than seven members, and it must not consist of more than can meet together to hear, and to be edified, and to partake of the sacraments, in one place, at one time. The church thus brought into existence by the covenanted relations of an assembly of professed Christians, became possessed of the right to administer certain precious sacraments which none but a church could administer, and which were so indispensable to the spiritual well-being of the worshipper as to make membership in a church almost imperative. When John Cotton's baby, Seaborn, was born upon shipboard, his father waited until landing in Boston to baptize the child. He declared that the sacrament of baptism could not be administered save by a church, and there was no church on board ship. A church thus constituted might not hold fellowship with an unworthy person, at the risk of impairing or destroying its own status; and the term "unworthy persons" is here used to indicate not only those church members who fell short of the requisite moral standard, but also those, whether godly or ungodly, who were not church members. Early in the summer of 1630, before the Boston church was gathered, four Boston men, all of them conspicuous for godliness, Winthrop, Dudley, Johnson, and Coddington, happened to be in Salem. When they attempted to join with the Salem church in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, they were denied the privilege of participation by Skelton, and Coddington's child was denied a baptism, on the ground that they were not members of any local church. Other incidents betray the same jealousy with which our fathers guarded the status of their church. Perhaps it is hardly fair to cite Roger Williams and his actions in support of any theory, and yet Roger Williams was merely one of those cantankerously consistent

persons whom the Lord has ordained to be a thorn in the side of his elect. In 1631 Williams refused to minister to the Boston church, and refused membership in it, because it had not yet separated itself from the Church of England. The Church of England at that time was supposed, by common Puritan consent, to be full of antichristian pollution. Williams claimed that the Boston church was tainted by that same antichristian pollution so long as it acknowledged any connection with the Church of England. To minister unto a tainted church would be to submit himself to the same taint. So, as he said, "he durst not officiate to an unseparated church."

It is easy to see that with such opinions prevalent as to the nature of a true church and as to the dangers which constantly menaced the existence of a true church, the practice of excommunication became inevitably a necessary practice. The church that continued to harbor an unworthy member ceased to be a church. Its very existence as a church was imperilled. Excommunication was therefore an act of self-defence. And the wonder is, not that there were so many excommunications, but that there were so few; not that our fathers were so strict in this particular, but that they were so lenient and so long suffering. In dealing with delinquent brethren we find them on the whole exceedingly patient and reasonable, both in theory and in practice. In general two classes of offences were visited by church punishment. The first class was of private quarrels and animosities, as between one church member and another. The second class was of offences against society, and offences of this second class were subdivided into the more gross and heinous, and the less. In theory, there was no administering of censure until the offence was proved beyond doubt. Nor did a church proceed to censure until it was certain that the offence could be cured in no other way. The church censure was the last resort, and with a few possible exceptions we may find it so in actual practice. In dealing with offences of the first class, those as between man and man, the method of procedure was in strict conformity to Gospel injunction. The plaintiff went privately to the offender and stated his grievance frankly and asked for redress. If the offender remained obdurate, the plaintiff laid the case before two or three grave and fair-minded friends, and with these friends paid a second visit to the offender. If the offender denied his ill-doing and there were none to testify against him except the plaintiff, there was

a deadlock and the case was dropped. The testimony of one man against one was not considered sufficient to warrant the administering of censure. If, however, the offender confessed to his ill-doing but still remained obdurate in spite of the brotherly exhortations of the two or three grave and sober-minded friends, the matter was taken to the elders of the church, who in turn notified the church. Then in public the elders labored with the offender to induce him to repent, and in this effort they might be assisted by any church members present whom the spirit might move to rise and speak in the interests of justice. If at any time during these proceedings the offender acknowledged himself guilty and repented, he was at once pardoned and the case was closed. But if he remained contumacious the church at last punished him, regulating the punishment to the nature of the sin. If it were a gross and heinous offence, he was excommunicated forthwith. If it were something done through ignorance of its sinfulness or in the heat of passion, he was first admonished, and perhaps admonished a second and third time before he was excommunicated. It is only fair to state that the offender's obstinacy was counted against him. His offence was of a cumulative nature. The church was apt to be very jealous of its dignity, and when the final punishment was inflicted we may find that it was imposed as much for the offender's contumacy against the church as for his original ill-doing against his brother. The case of Mrs. Anne Hibbon¹ is a case in point. It appears that in 1640 Mrs. Hibbon had sundry professional dealings with some carpenters, among whom was John Davis, also a member of the church in Boston. For some reason Mrs. Hibbon's suspicions were aroused against Davis and his fellow-workmen. She charged them with extortion and with being in a combination to keep up the prices for their class of labor. Her charges appear to have been uttered openly and upon insufficient grounds, to the scandal of the community and to the injury of Davis, who laid the matter before the elders. After due investigation Mrs. Hibbon was admonished for her uncharitable jealousies and causeless suspicions. This admonition failed of the desired result, however, for we read that four months later Mrs. Hibbon was excommunicated. The reasons for this excommunication are given as follows: (1) for her irregular dealing

¹ This is the spelling of the name in the records of the First Church, but the more usual form is Hibbins or Hibbens.

with John Davis in not following the rule and going to him privately, in the first place, with her grievance; (2) for her causeless and uncharitable jealousies and accusations in which she persisted, and from which no amount of testimony could dissuade her; (3) for sundry falsehoods proved against her; (4) for condemning the church in having admonished her four months before; and (5) for her obstinacy in that she neither listened to her husband at home, nor to her brethren and sisters when they expostulated with her in private, nor to the church when they admonished her in public. We may claim that it was a piece of gross tyranny to cast out this woman from a church on these grounds. It would be so, to cast her out of one of our churches, for our churches no longer conform to the colonial church ideal. But once we understand what that ideal was, there seems to be no other fate for Mrs. Anne Hibbon but excommunication. It was not done rashly nor impulsively. The proceedings dragged along for at least six months. Meanwhile every effort was made in all Christian charity and patience to bring Mrs. Hibbon to reason. And it was only when she had resisted all overtures, and persisted in her groundless accusations, and defied the church that she was finally cast forth.

In dealing with the second class of offences, those against society, such as fornication, adultery, murder, extortion, drunkenness, blasphemy, profanity and the like, the church felt obliged to proceed somewhat more roundly. The private expostulation was not deemed timely in such instances. Condemnation of such offences must be more prompt and uncompromising. If the offence were rank, the culprit was at once called before the church and excommunicated, it being satisfactorily proved, of course, that he was guilty. Thus we read that on November 20, 1642, "Our brother Edward Bates was by our Pastor in open assembly with the consent of the church, by their silence, excommunicated out of the church for sundry scandalous thefts committed by him, and for many lies, and unclean dalliances with another man's wife." If, however, the offence did not seem quite so gross, the offender might be merely admonished instead of excommunicated. Here, for example, is the case of Temperance Sweet, who appears to have belied her name most deplorably:

Our sister Temperance Sweet was, by our Pastor, in the name of the Lord, and with the consent of the church, taken by their silence, admonished for having received into house and given entertainment unto

disorderly company, and ministering unto them wine and strong waters even unto drunkenness, and that not without some iniquity both in the measure and the price thereof. |

It is edifying to read in the very next entry that Temperance repented her of her evil ways and having made open acknowledgment of her sin was released from her admonition.

The punishments which a church imposed were three: first, the public rebuke, then the public admonition, then the excommunication. The rebuke needs of course no further explanation. An entry in 1659, in the records of the First Church, states that "our sister Dorothy Knight, for being drunk was openly rebuked in the congregation, and upon her free acknowledgment was forgiven." The admonition was about equivalent to putting the culprit on probation. It was publicly administered, and it deprived its victim of the privilege of the sacraments until it was removed. The excommunication was practically an indefinite admonition. By excommunication the culprit was cast out of the church, to be sure, but that meant simply that he could not enjoy the sacraments and could not vote. He might attend divine worship, in fact he was rather expected to attend divine worship to the end that he might be won over to an appreciation of the sinfulness of his estate, and might be induced to apply again for fellowship. This renewal of fellowship to excommunicated persons was very common, and seems to have been granted with touching readiness and trust on the part of the church. The career of Richard Wayte, a tailor, who joined the church in 1634, will illustrate this well. In 1638 a customer brought him some buckskin to be made into a garment. Wayte purloined enough of the buckskin to make three men's gloves, and denied the theft. He was labored with according to rule, both in private and in public, but persisted in his false assertion of innocence. He was finally excommunicated. Two years later, in May, 1640, he acknowledged his sin, repented, and was restored to the fellowship of the church. In July, 1640, he was again excommunicated for having professed a false and hollow penitence upon the occasion of his restoration, and for sundry drinking bouts and carousals with a boon companion, Lester Gunton, who appears to have been an apprentice. In April, 1641, he penitently acknowledged his sin, and was restored a second time to the fellowship of the church. Thirty years later he was again excommunicated for habitual drunkenness,

and was a third time restored to fellowship upon profession of repentance. His case is duplicated by the case of John Temple, who in like manner was thrice excommunicated and thrice restored to fellowship. In fact, as we examine the records of the Boston church, which perhaps may be taken as typical of the colonial churches in general, we cannot resist the feeling that church censures were administered very rarely and very reasonably, and that they were revoked with most Christian charitableness and trust. The church seems never to have harbored spite against a malefactor. It never considered a sin as being unpardonable. So far as the church was concerned, its excommunication was never irrevocable. It was always possible for the offender to repent and regain fellowship. The statistics will go far to show this. During the first ninety years of its history, from 1630 to 1720, after which date there are no excommunications recorded, 72 persons were cast out of the Boston church. Of these 72, 39 were never restored at all; 20 were restored and never came upon the books again; 6 were restored and were excommunicated a second time; 2 were twice excommunicated and twice restored; 3 were twice restored and then were finally excommunicated for the third time; and as we have seen 2 were thrice excommunicated and thrice restored to fellowship. So that of the 72 persons, 24 were ultimately restored, and 48 remained in the final estate of excommunication. Two-thirds of these penalties were inflicted for offences of the second class — drunkenness, theft, and sexual irregularity. No fair-minded historian could criticize the church for imposing these penalties — assuming, of course, that he understands what their ideal of a church was. The remaining one-third of the penalties were inflicted for neighborhood quarrels, doctrinal errors, or seditious and unbrotherly speech and conduct. If the critical historian wishes to justify his charge of bigotry and tyranny in this matter of church discipline, he must discover his justification of that charge in these 24 cases. But of these 24 persons cast out, 6 were restored. Of the 18 who remained under ban, 6 more were practically self-excommunicated. These were Richard Lippincott, who deliberately withdrew from church communion, was twice admonished, would not listen to argument, and was cast out; John Spurr, who withdrew from the communion of the church professing that he could not hold fellowship with it, declared the church was a crowd of superstitious idolaters and its officers hypocrites, and was cast out; Ann

Burdon, who withdrew from church communion declaring that she was commanded of the Lord to have no more to do with them, was twice summoned before the church, and twice refused to appear, and so was cast out; Nicholas Upsall, who withdrew from the church, denied the validity of its ordinances, refused to discuss the matter, was admonished and finally cast out; Anne Gillam, who withdrew from church communion, would give no reason, would listen to no argument, and was finally cast out; and Anna Search, who deliberately withdrew from the First Church and put herself into fellowship with the Third Church without waiting to go through the formality of obtaining letters of dismission and recommendation, and so was renounced from the communion of the First Church. These six persons practically excommunicated themselves. This leaves 12 cases. Of these 12, three were cast out for persistent scoffing at religion, reviling the elders, and interrupting the service in disorderly ways; two were cast out for habitual falsehood; one was a scold and scandal-monger; one attempted to steal tools from a fellow-workman; one reviled his father; one reviled her husband and used to strike him; and one stole wine from a hogshead and filled up the measure with beer. The two that are left are Anne Hutchinson and Francis Hutchinson. It is unnecessary to go exhaustively into the reasons for their excommunication. They really endangered the life of both church and colony. It was not so much because of their alleged doctrinal errors that they were cast out, but because of the factional strife and partizanship that they unwittingly provoked. They were unintentional schismatics, and were cast out of the church on grounds of grim expediency. The findings of the Synod of 1637, at which, among other things, Mrs. Hutchinson's large assemblies of women were "agreed to be disorderly," is one which many a bewildered parson reads to-day with profound sympathy and understanding. Her excommunication reflects little credit upon any one concerned — least of all perhaps upon John Cotton, but the open-minded man cannot help wondering what other course was open to the church.

To sum up, then, it would appear that the practice of excommunication as carried out in colonial churches was not an unjustly tyrannical practice; it does not betoken a cantankerous and self-righteous spirit on the part of our fathers. With but few exceptions, those whom the churches cast out richly deserved their fate, and would be cast out

of any self-respecting church to-day, if there existed to-day a church which conformed to the old idea. Excommunications were merely incidental to the working out of the colonial church ideal; and he who would condemn excommunication must first of all attack and overthrow the ideal of the colonial church.

Mr. CHARLES K. BOLTON made the following communication :

SOCIAL LIBRARIES IN BOSTON.

Two years ago I read before this Society a paper on Circulating Libraries in Boston, 1765-1865.¹ Of even greater importance in the intellectual life of the town, and certainly more enduring, have been the Social Libraries which were organized under laws of the Commonwealth. Our associate Dr. James B. Ayer is not only the possessor of several valuable catalogues of early libraries of this class, but in the course of my investigations I have found his knowledge of the subject very extensive, and we have together solved some difficult questions.

A considerable movement in favor of establishing social libraries in Massachusetts made a general law desirable, and on March 3, 1798, provision was made "to enable the proprietors of Social Libraries to manage the same."

Section 1 read :

Any seven or more persons, capable of contracting, in any towns or districts in this Commonwealth, who have or shall become Proprietors in common, of any Library, may form themselves into a Society or body politic, for the express purposes of holding, encreasing, preserving, and using such Library, etc.

Section 2 defined powers of proprietors to choose officers, to raise monies by assessments on shares, to make by-laws, etc.

Section 3 directed the name to be The Proprietors of the Social Library in the Town of —

Section 4 authorized the proprietors to hold property to the value of five hundred dollars above the value of the books, and permitted one vote to each share.

This Act was repealed when a new Act, very similar to the original Act, was passed March 8, 1806. An additional Act, passed Feb-

¹ February, 1907, Publications, xi. 196-207.

ruary 24, 1807, enabled officers of the militia to form Military Library Societies.

Under the provisions of these acts libraries came quickly into existence, so that a writer in the *Massachusetts Register* and *United States Calendar* for 1802 estimated the number in the Commonwealth at one hundred. Those in Boston were:

The First Social, or the Social Law Library, 1804;

The Second Social, or the Boston Medical Library, 1805;¹

The Third Social, or the Scientific Library, 18—;²

The Fourth Social, or the Theological Library, 1807.

Before taking up the history of these libraries in detail it may be well to recall the times in which men began to associate themselves more frequently and more closely together in Boston to further intellectual projects. The circulating libraries were wholly commercial in their origin, however useful they may have been. The social libraries, which came very close upon them, were hardly more exclusive, unless the price of a share, being greater than the annual fee of the bookseller's library, had a tendency to differentiate into classes the book-loving public. But their impetus was social, as the name suggests, and not commercial.

The nineteenth century opened with Washington no longer a figure on the stage. The intellectual people of the time feared the influence of the French Revolution with its foreboding of social and religious changes. They had been aroused as a class to struggle for self-protection, and the movement, as far as it can be identified with the Federalist party, was strong in Massachusetts after it had lost favor with the country at large. This was at least one cause which served to bind men together socially, and in Boston the growth of societies soon became marked. The Rev. John T. Kirkland, later President of Harvard College, was as much as any one a leader in this intellectual activity. He was minister of the New South Church in Summer Street, a man of great dignity, charm in conversation, and knowledge of men. Other clergymen during the first decade were the Rev. William Emerson of the First Church in Cornhill (now Washington Street), the Rev. James Freeman of King's Chapel (then called the

¹ So called in the Proprietors' Records, Boston Athenæum, March 18, 1826.

² So called in the Proprietors' Records, Boston Athenæum, January 1, 1827.

Stone Chapel), the Rev. Joseph S. Buckminster of the Church in Brattle Square, the Rev. John Eliot of New North Church, the Rev. William Ellery Channing of the Church in Federal Street, the Rev. John S. J. Gardiner of Trinity, and the Rev. Charles Lowell of the West Church in Lynde Street. New England divines now turned from doctrinal and Biblical sermons to wider and more moving themes, and they did much to stir the people to greater mental activity.¹

In 1801 Dr. Kirkland, Judge Davis, and others² founded the Society for the Study of Natural Philosophy; its members gave lectures in turn. The principal part of the apparatus which they had collected from time to time was turned over in 1807 to the Boston Athenæum, when the Society came to an end. The Athenæum absorbed many other societies as the years went on, and it became in fact, as well as in sentiment, the representative of the intellectual life of Boston.

Next in time, but of the first importance, was the Anthology Club, which had much to do with the development of the literary life of the whole country. More closely connected with the Natural Philosophy Society, however, was the private medical society formed in 1805 by Doctors John Collins Warren, nephew of the patriot Dr. Joseph Warren, James Jackson, John Dixwell, John Gorham Coffin, Asa Bullard, George Cheyne Shattuck, and one or two others. These men met weekly and listened to papers. They brought together at the home of Dr. John Fleet, in Milk Street, a few books which became in January, 1806, the Boston Medical Library. It was opened on the first Thursday in that year, and received and delivered books on Mondays and Thursdays between three and five o'clock in the afternoon. A year or two later Amos Smith, apothecary, kept this library at his shop, No. 39 Marlborough (now Washington) Street. A catalogue,³ printed in 1808, shows that three books could be taken out at

¹ *Memoirs of Rev. Joseph Buckminster* (1849), pp. 188, 207.

² William Emerson, Nathan Frazier, James Jackson, John S. Popkin, Josiah Quincy, Timothy Williams, John Quincy Adams, John Lowell, and later John C. Warren, John C. Howard. (*Life of J. C. Warren*, i. 72; *MS Records of the Society*, p. 11.) The records of this society were presented to the Boston Athenæum in 1909 by the present Dr. John Collins Warren.

³ *Catalogue / of / Books / in the / Boston Medical / Library, / and the / Rules and Regulations / concerning the same. / Also, / a Statement of the Trustees / to the Proprietors. / Boston. / Printed by Thomas Fleet, No. 5, Cornhill, 1808. Title, 1 leaf; Catalogue, pp. 3-10; Rules and Statement of the Trustees, pp. 11-16.*

one time, with a pamphlet. The larger the book the longer it might be kept; the fines also were graded according to the size of the book borrowed. The "sublibrarian" was the working head, and he must have taken pleasure in Rule 4: "The Sublibrarian will receive fines, but he will not undertake to demand them." Nor was he to expose books to view until the librarian had examined, labelled, and arranged them on the shelves. The circulation to May 30, 1808, was seven hundred, and the committee — Doctors John C. Warren, Asa Bullard, and John G. Coffin — felt that the Library had been of great value to the community. In 1826 the Library was turned over to the Boston Athenæum, and nearly all its proprietors purchased Athenæum shares on advantageous terms. The physicians then in Boston numbered seventy-one and almost one half belonged to this first Medical Library.¹

The other professions did not leave the library field to the physicians alone. In point of time the Social Law Library was the earliest "social library," as the term was then used. The first list of subscribers to shares was dated September 6, 1803, and includes twenty-nine names headed by that of Theophilus Parsons.² The first meeting,

¹ See E. J. Forster's article in *Professional and Industrial History of Suffolk County*, iii. 220. The present Boston Medical Library was incorporated in 1877, after several meetings dating from 1875.

A copy of the catalogue of a so-called Second Social Library has been preserved, and it shows that this library was in 1808 wholly general in character. This copy, owned by Dr. Ayer, has many titles added in manuscript, suggesting that the library had a considerable call for books. The title-page reads:

A / Catalogue of Books, / in the / Second Social Library / in the / Town of Boston. / Instituted January, 1805. / Incorporated 1806. / Boston: / Printed at the Emerald Printing office, / No. 5, Court Street. / 1808. / E. G. House, Printer. / pp. 12.

This copy belonged to the Rev. William Emerson and bears his autograph signature on the title-page.

The Boston Public Library has a second edition, which was John H. Gould's copy with a supplement covering twelve additional pages, entitled:

Supplementary Catalogue of Books, added to the Second Social Library, from January, 1809, to May, 1811. pp. 12.

² The names read: Theoph: Parsons, Chas Jackson, Charles Paine, Rd Sullivan, Warren Dutton, Wm Stackpole, Jr., James Allen, Jr., Israel Munroe, Wm. H. Sumner, Thomas Williams of Roxbury, Peter Thacher, Cha Davis, John Heard, Jur., Samuel D. Parker, Ira: D. Channing, Edward Gray, Joseph Hall, Jno Lowell, Geo: Blake, Danl Davis, Eben Gay, John Phillips, R. G. Amory, Josiah Quincy, Robert T. Paine, Jr., Jos. Rowe, Thos. O. Selfridge, C. Gore, Geo. Sullivan.

to organize, was held April 23, 1840,¹ and later other subscribers at \$50 each were admitted. The library was kept for many years in the office of a member of the bar who acted as librarian; then the books were kept in a closet adjoining a large room in the Court House. The first printed catalogue, issued in 1824, recorded 1470 volumes; that of 1849 gave the titles of 4077.² Incorporation was secured in 1814 by William Prescott, Joseph Hall, and their associates. It has now become a large and valuable collection.

The Act of February, 1807, permitted officers of the militia to establish Military Library Societies, but I have not found evidence of the existence of such a library.

A third project was evidently under discussion, since a "fourth" or theological library was projected in June. This third social library is still somewhat of a mystery, for we find no contemporary organization. Twenty years later came the Massachusetts Scientific Library Association. At a meeting of gentlemen held in the American Academy's room in 1826, Israel Thorndike, Jr., Amos Lawrence, John A. Lowell, George B. Emerson, John C. Gray, John Lowell, Jr., William Sturgis, Daniel Treadwell, Dr. Enoch Hale, and Edward Brooks were appointed a committee to solicit subscriptions for a Scientific Library. Soon after, the Athenæum trustees chose a committee composed of Nathaniel Bowditch, Francis C. Gray, George Ticknor, Thomas W. Ward, and Francis J. Oliver, to consider the expediency of "uniting, in the Athenæum, the principal circulating libraries of this city," that the deficiencies of the larger library might be overcome. The subscriptions for the projected Scientific Library were soon made over to the Athenæum.³

The Scientific Library Association having lost its identity, a new Third Social Library was organized about 1834 with thirty-eight proprietors. A catalogue, owned by the Athenæum, covers eight printed pages: By-Laws, pages 1-3; Books belonging to the library, pages 3-7; Proprietors, page [8]. There is no title-page. The contents are general. Page 7 reads: "This association being incorporated according to a law of this Commonwealth, passed in 1806, imports its books free of duty."

The Fourth Social [or Theological] Library in the Town of Boston was established June 1, 1807, in the First, or Old Brick, Church, now

¹ Preface to Catalogue of 1849.

² Preface to Catalogue of 1865.

³ Quincy, *History of the Boston Athenæum*, p. 94.

at the corner of Berkeley and Marlborough Streets, then in Washington Street on the later site of Joy's Building.¹ In 1808 the congregation moved into a new church building in Chauncy Place² and the library occupied the vestry, being maintained by all the Congregational churches in Boston through an association of their ministers.³ The library was under the immediate eye of the Rev. William Emerson, minister of the First Church, and one of the most active literary men in the town. In 1807 the proprietors of King's Chapel deposited their library with this new Theological Library, and a catalogue of it appears with that of the main library, published in 1808, at the time of the removal. The Rev. Joseph McKean appears as librarian in the list of officers, and he was probably the first to hold the office. The Athenæum copy of their catalogue was presented by him.⁴

In 1823 the Theological Library was united with the library of the Boston Athenæum,⁵ where it remained until the administration of Mr. William C. Lane, when most of the books were deposited with the General Theological Library on Mount Vernon Street.⁶ Many prominent men had been associated with it, President Kirkland, the Rev. William Emerson, father of the philosopher, the Rev. William E. Channing, the Rev. Charles Lowell, father of the poet, and the Rev. Francis Parkman, father of the historian. These names illustrate the potential force then in Boston, which was making ready to usher in the golden age of New England literature.⁷

¹ View in Ellis's *History of the First Church in Boston*, facing p. 172.

² Ibid. View facing p. 237.

³ W. Emerson, *History of the First Church*, p. 168.

⁴ The catalogue bears the title:

Catalogue of Books, / in the / Theological Library, / in the / Town of Boston. / March 1, 1808. / Snelling and Simons, Printers, / Devonshire-Street. . . . Boston. / 1808. Title, 1 leaf: Rules and Regulations, Subscribers, and Government for 1807-8, pp. 2-6; Catalogue of Books in the Theological Library, including those Deposited by the Corporation of "King's Chapel," in Boston, pp. 7-33.

⁵ Greenwood, *History of King's Chapel*, p. 162.

⁶ The General Theological Library was organized April 20, 1860, with the Rev. Charles Burroughs as president and J. Sullivan Warren as secretary. In 1862, with the Rev. Luther Farnham as secretary, the Library began its work, having quarters at different times on Tremont, West, Somerset, and now on Mount Vernon Streets. It is open to members, clergymen, and visiting strangers.

⁷ The Boston Public Library has a catalogue of books in "the Columbian Social Library, instituted January, 1813," and of "Social Library No. 1, March, 1823." The title-page of the latter reads:

Catalogue of Books / in / Social Library, / No 1. / March, 1823. / Boston: / Printed for the Proprietors. / pp. 36. 4 books at once. \$10 a share.

The booksellers were not slow to feel the new spirit that had come over the people. Boston has always been famous for its bookstores, having had, at times, more than were to be found elsewhere on the whole continent. In 1801 the booksellers of the town formed an association called the "Boston Association of Booksellers," said to have been the first of the kind in America. Its objects were commercial and social, and those who refused to abide by its rules lost the advantage of exchange of books and trade discounts, so essential to a successful business.¹ In 1804 they published a catalogue of books in print in America. The Boston Directory for 1807 mentions fifteen booksellers and three librarians. Booksellers were quick also to see the need of circulating libraries to draw the public to their places of business.

In this summary I have not referred to many social clubs which stimulated thought and study, such as the Friday Evening Club to which many of the gentlemen mentioned above gave their attention.²

The clergymen and physicians were closely associated in these many literary enterprises, while the lawyers contented themselves largely with founding the Social Law Library. Of those who instituted the Monthly Anthology, a magazine, and the Boston Athenæum, which followed, the Rev. Dr. Kirkland was associated also with the Boston Library, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Theological Library, and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; Mr. Emerson was identified with all but the Academy; while Dr. John C. Warren, the Rev. Joseph McKean, the Rev. James Freeman, the Rev. John Eliot, William Tudor, and others were connected with several of those institutions.

On behalf of Mr. CHARLES S. RACKEMANN, Mr. EDES communicated a Memoir of FRANCIS VERGNIES BALCH, which Mr. Rackemann had been requested to prepare for publication in the Transactions.

¹ Shaw's Description of Boston, p. 278.

² See Life of John C. Warren, i. 79. Members were Col. George Gibbs, President Holley, Dr. James Jackson, the Rev. Joseph S. Buckminster, Benjamin Vaughan, and Francis C. Gray.



Francis V. Balch

*Engraved for The Codman Society of Massachusetts
from a portrait from life*

MEMOIR
OF
FRANCIS VERGNIES BALCH, LL.B.

BY
CHARLES SEDGWICK RACKEMANN

FRANCIS VERGNIES BALCH, the subject of this memoir, was descended directly and in the eighth generation from John Balch, who came from Somersetshire, England, and, after having been for four years in Dorchester, settled in 1630 in the "Bass River District" of what is now Beverly, was then Salem, and was originally Naumkeag. He was one of the first settlers of Beverly. With him had come also Roger Conant, John Woodberry, and Peter Palfrey, and these four men were known as "the Old Planters."

His father was Joseph Balch, who became one of the pioneers in the establishment of fire insurance companies in Massachusetts, and lived for many years at Jamaica Plain, which in those days was a section of the town of West Roxbury, though long since (in 1874) made a part of the present City of Boston.

Mr. Balch's mother was Anne Lothrop Noyes, of Newburyport, and she was descended directly, and in the eighth generation, from Nicholas Noyes, who settled in Newbury in 1635.

Thus for more than two hundred years his ancestors had lived in the Colony, Province, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and had become "bone of its bone, and flesh of its flesh."

Mr. Balch was born in Boston on February 3, 1839, in a house on LaGrange Place. Most of his childhood was passed at Jamaica Plain, and there he attended for a time the school kept by Miss Jane Lane, who was a sister of our late honored associate, Professor George Martin Lane. Afterwards he went to the boarding-school of his own brother-in-law, Stephen Minot Weld, and thence entered

the freshman class of Harvard College while yet in his seventeenth year. As a child he was rather feeble, and his friends did not look with much confidence upon the comparatively small prospect of his being able to finish his course at college. Not only did he do that, but he did it with the utmost credit to his scholarship and with comfort and happiness for himself. He soon afterwards wrote:

I never expect to spend four years again so happily as I have done these four, but I have the consolation of knowing that I knew what I was enjoying all the time, and made the most of it. That my life here has been so pleasant is entirely owing to the friendships which I have made, and to the kindness of my classmates.

While in college he had distinguished himself by his high rank and by winning sundry honors, both from his classmates and from the authorities. He was president of the class; he obtained a second prize for an English essay; and he was both class-day orator and valedictorian. It is related of him that at this time he deliberately tried to lower his own rank in scholarship, — so little was he desirous of accumulating honors for himself, and so generously disposed to share them with others.

One of our associates and his classmate, the Rev. Dr. William R. Huntington, has remarked:

It is seldom that the authorities of a college and the undergraduates are of one mind with respect to the merits of a particular student, but in Balch's case there was no difference of opinion. The faculty declared him the first scholar of his year and his classmates chose him for their orator.

Another classmate, James Schouler, speaking of the same period, says:

Respect for his attainments and modest worth caused him to be chosen almost spontaneously the class orator, at a time when college politics were somewhat bitter, and though not a man of brilliant parts he acquitted himself well and earnestly, as he did on every other occasion of life.

He graduated in 1859 in a class that contained a large number of men who became especially prominent in life, and of which the late Professor Child wrote: "The class of 1859; a very distinguished

class, full of interesting men, and fortunate in entering upon life at a time favorable to making and displaying character."

The pursuits that kept his interest and absorbed his time were always those of an intellectual order, but he did not at college neglect his health. He played cricket and rowed. He devoted a good deal of time to the study of German and almost as much to mathematics. He said that he did not have a sick day during the four years.

He became fascinated by the study of botany, and learned the wild flowers of Massachusetts with great thoroughness. He had a very keen, quick eye for his favorites and used to astonish his friends in later life by seeing the tiniest of flowers, while walking through the woods, fields, or meadows. Truly he was infected with the wonderful enthusiasm of Professor Asa Gray.

All that was beautiful in literature appealed to him, and made him its worshipper. He was among the favored few who studied Italian with Professor Lowell, at the latter's house; and his love of poetry lasted him through life, and was a never-ending source of enjoyment to himself and others.

On leaving college he at once took up the study of the law. In those days not very much was required in the way of legal studies to qualify one for admission to the bar, and having attended three terms, so called, at the Harvard Law School, he was admitted in the winter of 1860-1861, in Suffolk County.

Early in the year 1861 he became associated with George S. Hillard and Francis W. Palfrey, who had offices at 33 School Street. In July, 1862, after he had been in practice about eighteen months, he enlisted as a private in the Twentieth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, of which Palfrey was already Lieutenant-Colonel. He was mustered in August 4, 1862, but was discharged for disability from lung-fever, contracted in the Peninsular Campaign, before the end of that year. It is probable that he never fully recovered from the ill-effects of that disease.

Yet another classmate, the Rev. George L. Chaney, speaking of the early days, said:

Of the two it must be said that the mind in him was stronger than the body, and the spirit was ever master of the form. Only once in his whole career did his body fail to do the spirit's bidding. He broke down on the march, when in the Civil War he undertook to join the 20th Massa-

chusetts Regiment, without preliminary drill or training. This was in 1862. Thereafter he was a conscript of peace, his disabilities forbidding re-enlistment.

Of his military service he seldom spoke and if driven to it, he always made it of no account; whereas I personally knew men who were fired by Balch's example to join the army, and who did brave service to the end of the war.

At the meeting in Jamaica Plain called for the purpose of securing volunteers, there was a pause of uncertainty and apparent reluctance to enlist. Balch enlisted then and there, and the Company was secured.

He made way for liberty although he was not allowed to make a long fight for it.

He had been in the South the year before, going to New York by rail, with his half-brother, Joseph W. Balch, and his friends Eben Bacon and Caleb Curtis. From New York they proceeded on board a government transport steamer commanded by Captain Oliver Eldridge, and Mr. Balch kept a journal for some considerable time. That journey was begun November 25, 1861. They lay off Beaufort, South Carolina, for a long time, and went ashore frequently. The journal gives full details of many of the little trips that were made, and shows on the part of its writer great closeness of observation and a clear and ready style of narrative.

So severe were the ill effects of his short experience in the army that although discharged in the early part of the winter of 1862-1863 it was not until May, 1863, that he was able to resume the practice of his profession, which he then took up again with General Palfrey. Notwithstanding that Mr. Balch returned to civil life with his health impaired (perhaps permanently) by his military service, his patriotism forbade his acceptance of a pension from the government. At this time he must have begun that systematic reading of the modern English Reports of decisions, both at law and in equity, and of the Massachusetts Reports, which he kept up to the end of his life.

In 1864 Mr. Balch went to Washington and took the position of Clerk to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and became also private secretary to Charles Sumner, Senator from Massachusetts. His relations with Mr. Sumner were most agreeable, and satisfactory to both, and so greatly did he inspire Mr. Sumner with con-

fidence and respect that the latter made him one of his literary executors and his sole general executor. This well-deserved honor brought Mr. Balch into prominence in a way that could hardly have been contemplated either by the testator in making his will, or by the executor when he qualified. On the other hand Balch had the greatest admiration and respect for the character of the Senator.

It is now about twenty-eight years since the first efficient Civil Service Reform Association was organized in this country, and at the annual conference of the National Civil Service Reform League held in New Haven, Connecticut, November 19 and 20, 1906, due recognition of the age of the Society was made. In connection with that fact it is worth while to record here that it was Mr. Balch who, while associated with Mr. Sumner in Washington, made the "first effective suggestion of civil service reform in this country," and prepared the bill for that purpose which the Senator introduced on April 30, 1864.

His life in Washington at that time must have greatly stimulated and cemented his interest in public affairs, which lasted always thereafter. He did not desert the law even while living there, for at that time he published several short works,¹ and one of quite serious importance — a new edition of Blackwell on Tax Titles — adding a good deal of new matter to this already well-known and authoritative treatise.

After being in Washington about two years he returned to Boston, and was again associated with Palfrey, this time as partner; but after a short time he withdrew and went into the office of William Minot, Senior, who was then known as Judge Minot, where were also William Minot, Junior (the second of the name), and James Benjamin. That office was carrying on the trust-business and law-work connected with real estate which had been founded by the Hon. George Richards Minot in the eighteenth century and on the same site in Court Street (Number 39) where his professional life was passed. No other office could have been found where the business and the personnel would have been more to Mr. Balch's liking. The Minots were relations of the Welds, to whom he was related also, and they all lived in the West Roxbury neighborhood.

It was indeed a most happy and fortunate alliance. Through it

¹ Including some on International Law.

Mr. Balch was still further brought into contact with the other learned and accomplished members of the bar who were administering the princely fortunes which Bostonians have for so long a time chosen to have kept in trust, and with the principal savings institutions, and the landed proprietors.

If up to this time there had been any doubt about his future career as a lawyer it was quickly dispelled; and it became certain that he would thereafter devote his time, energy, and interest to those parts of the practice of the law which are bound up in trusts and conveyancing, in equity and probate matters.

In 1873, when the eldest William Minot died, and William Minot, third, had come into the office, Mr. Balch branched out for himself to the extent of having his own office, in a room adjoining those of the Messrs. Minot. Here he labored, with never more than one clerk, for sixteen years. The amount of conveyancing work that he did was enormous, and his business as executor and trustee was constantly increasing. He had become in the meanwhile sole executor of Dr. Samuel G. Howe's estate, and had trusteeships and agencies of considerable importance. He did all his work himself, made all examinations of title, both in the registries and probate offices, and wrote all abstracts, opinions, and letters with his own hand.

The detailed mention of books filled with notes, or of volumes of letters written, makes dry reading, but when one considers that for thirty years or more Mr. Balch was searching titles and making abstracts of them, and that these abstracts consist of a complete narrative of the title, in most cases covering a period of sixty years, but often more, some adequate idea of the sum of his labors in this department may readily be formed. Every deed, mortgage, and release, every will, and every case of intestacy must be read and understood, and its sense if not its form recorded in the abstract; and until the recent improvements in the indexes, thousands of papers must be read in order to determine whether or not they affected the land in question.

Down to 1876 he kept all his own accounts, and was frequently in his office as late as nine o'clock in the evening. Typewriters were unknown in those days, and stenographers were never seen in private offices.

In the beginning of 1876 he turned over all his account-books to

his clerk, a young man¹ who was taken into his office to learn the business, and in 1879 Mr. Balch first employed a professional book-keeper, having taken larger quarters in the same building. By this time he had some seventy trust and agency accounts upon his books, and his reputation as an able conveyancer and safe and learned counsel was fully established. Employed equally to examine titles for purchasers and for mortgagees, he became very widely known, not only in Boston but in all the adjoining counties; and when investors and lenders found that he not only was well skilled in detecting flaws or questions in titles but having discovered them was possessed of a zealous love of curing them, and a legal mind of uncommon learning and fertility of resource, they confided their interests to his care without measure.

One of his most fortunate and most highly valued connections (aside from that with the Messrs. Minot) was with the late Colonel Henry Lee, who became a staunch friend and admirer, and a regular client. Mr. Balch through him became counsel to the Union Safe Deposit Vaults, under which name Colonel Lee established and developed the now usual business of renting small spaces or boxes in specially constructed and carefully guarded quarters for the safe-keeping of valuable securities and property. The Union Building, at the corner of State and Exchange Streets, was owned by the Lee family, and was, about the time the vaults were established, put into the hands of trustees, who issued certificates of beneficial ownership to those persons who had theretofore each had a fractional share of the entire ownership. This proceeding virtually made the Union Building Trust one of the earliest, if not the very first "real estate trust" in Boston. Such trusts have become very popular, and there are now many more than one hundred of them of prominence in this city. They have been subjected to many criticisms and questionings on the part of the lawyers, and the particular point has been made that they must be carefully limited in duration so as to comply with the rules of law. In the Union Building Trust no limit was set, and the trust might go on forever for anything that appears; but it was well-conceived, and we can easily imagine the satisfaction that Balch would have felt had he lived long enough to hear that a trust so expressed was upheld by

¹ The writer.

the Supreme Judicial Court, after being attacked on that very point.¹

During the worst of the great fire in Boston, on a Sunday afternoon, he became greatly troubled lest pressure might be brought upon Colonel Lee or his assistants to open the Union Vaults, and allow renters to remove their valuables to some places of safety more remote from the burning area, and he fully realized the possible embarrassment and even disaster that might ensue upon anything being done which might indicate or recognize a feeling or state of panic about the safety of the securities which were deposited there. At the moment all the horses in Boston were sick with the epizootic, and so Mr. Balch walked in to Boston from Jamaica Plain, warned the gentlemen who were on guard² on no account to open the vaults, no matter who requested it, and quietly turning away, walked home again.

Meanwhile, in 1863, he married his cousin, Ellen Maria, daughter of Dr. Francis Vergnies Noyes and his wife, Elizabeth Porter, and continued to live at Jamaica Plain, except for a few weeks in summer. When his children were growing up he built a house at Cohasset and passed the summer there. He grew very fond of this place, which was right upon the sea. He had always enjoyed rowing and walking, and at Cohasset he could still keep up these favorite pastimes and also have the benefit and pleasure of sea-bathing. He was the most hospitable householder that ever was seen, and was never happier than when giving up his own room to some guest, or walking in order that some guest might have his seat in the carriage; and at this Cohasset home there seemed to be room for all his friends and all his children's friends besides.

After he set up his own office he had a partnership with Arthur G. Sedgwick,³ but Mr. Sedgwick soon removed to New York City, and their professional connection ceased. But Mr. Sedgwick always called on Mr. Balch when he came to Boston, and after the death of the latter expressed his feelings of admiration and respect in the following words:

¹ See *Howe v. Morse*, 174 Massachusetts Reports, 491 (1899).

² These included our associate, Major Henry L. Higginson, nephew of Colonel Lee, who narrated the incident to me.

³ A.B. Harvard, 1864; A.M. Harvard, 1870; LL.B. 1886.

Mr. Balch had, to me, a character most remarkable for its complete unselfishness. He had a great many other fine qualities, but in this respect he was in my experience without a rival. I have read of such characters, but never met one except in his case. He seemed to differ from every one else, in not perceiving that his character was remarkable, or that there was anything exceptional or noteworthy in his being what he was.

It was not until some years later that the partnership was formed which lasted until the death of Mr. Balch.¹ In a memoir like this many details of life and character must necessarily be omitted, but even with that rule in mind it is difficult to reject many interesting things concerning Mr. Balch. He touched life at many different points, yet always with a light hand, not lacking in firmness, and a gentle heart. When he died his relatives and friends thronged the church at Jamaica Plain, where he had worshipped for many years, to pay the last tributes of devotion and respect. A few weeks later the meeting of the Suffolk Bar, and the Bar of the First Circuit of the United States, called out a most notable assemblage. The remarks upon that occasion were unusually full of personal feeling. Professor John C. Gray, a classmate, presented the resolutions which had been prepared by a Special Committee, and said:

We have known many an able and noble man, but the youngest of us will never live to see another figure so unique as that of Mr. Balch.

Mr. Balch was a classmate of mine in college. What he has been since, he was then. No man ever remained more constant to his beginnings than he. So frail in appearance that it seemed as if a year's life would be too much to hope for him, he had a mighty spirit within. College life began then with the football match between the Freshman and Sophomore classes, and it was in those simple days a very rough-and-tumble fight. The first knowledge of Balch by his classmates was to see a feeble figure wielding a pair of ineffectual fists, but in the very van of the action. He was from the beginning the first scholar in the class, *facile princeps*. His supremacy was never questioned; it seemed a law of nature that he should be at the head. He had that extraordinary power of rapid and accurate work which lasted him through his whole

¹ The firm of Balch & Rackemann was formed in October, 1886, and consisted of Mr. Balch, the writer, and Felix Rackemann.

life. I have never known, I think, any one quite his equal in this respect. To work hard was his nature. I do not think he would have been happy without hard work.

In accepting the resolutions and ordering them to be spread upon the records of the Supreme Judicial Court, Mr. Justice Barker delivered an eloquent appreciation of the character and attainments of Mr. Balch, saying in part:

Your deep respect for the strong and fine character, the great learning, and the faithful, assiduous service of the man who is commemorated by these resolutions would, without more, make it a pleasure for the Court to place them upon its records. To your respect and appreciation are to be added the same feelings on the part of the Court, deeply sensible of the fine qualities and the high attainments of Mr. Balch. No man understood better than he the subtle and intricate law of land, of trusts, of wills, of the settlement of estates. No man could better advise how the funds of widows and orphans, or of great charities, could be safely invested and preserved. No man had a finer sense of right and justice. No man was more ready to give freely and cheerfully of his time and learning to his associates at the Bar. No man showed better than he that the pecuniary reward of professional excellence is not its highest recompense.

The spontaneity and warmth with which his friends expressed themselves after his death was very striking, and no more fitting and beautiful eulogies could be desired than are found in their written or spoken words. Mr. Minot spoke of his personal traits with keen appreciation of their quality:

He was tenderly affectionate, and when he conceived himself to be under a debt for any kindness or service repaid it over and over again, with interest compounded upon all the previous payments, until the recipient was overwhelmed, and even ashamed.

He was one of those rare persons who are absolutely unselfish, and one might say that he was wholly unconscious of himself were it not for the deference he showed to his inferiors, setting himself below them.

Self-sacrifice in great things and small was a delight to him. He was of the poor in spirit; he was of those who mourn, for he was indeed a man of sorrow, acquainted with grief. He was of the meek, of those that hunger and thirst after righteousness, of the merciful, of the pure in heart, and we know that the reward promised to these is his.

And the Rev. Dr. Charles F. Dole, the minister of the church already alluded to, said of him:

In his home and in his friendships he was the incarnation of thoughtfulness and unselfishness. His ample memory and well-stored mind, his discriminating appreciation and enjoyment of beautiful things, together with his kindly and genial humor, rendered him one of the most delightful companions. At the same time he was familiar with the most profound problems of life and death. Like the best practical men of affairs, he was essentially an idealist and a believer in principles. One felt that he would have gone unflinchingly to the stake, if truth, or duty, or love, had commanded.

It was in this spirit of simple chivalry that he threw aside the pursuits of the scholar and enlisted as a private in the ranks in the great Civil War. But it was no less in the same spirit of consecration to the public welfare that he contributed his services and his money, as long as he lived, to every good cause, whether for education of the poor blacks at the South, or for needed reforms in his own city. His cheerful willingness seemed to know no bounds. His religion was the direct outcome, as well as the inspiration of his life. It was pre-eminently the religion of the Beatitudes and of the golden rule, quiet, earnest, and efficacious.

SPECIAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL

11 JUNE, 1909

A SPECIAL MEETING of the Council was held on Friday, 11 June, 1909, at four o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. THOMAS MINNS in the chair.

Present, Messrs. Henry Winchester Cunningham, Henry Herbert Edes, Frederick Lewis Gay, Albert Matthews, Thomas Minns, Henry Ainsworth Parker, Henry Ernest Woods.

The following is an extract from the Records of the meeting:

The Council of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts wishes to place on its Records a testimony of its sense of loss in the death of JOHN NOBLE, and its appreciation of his character and of his services to this Society.

John Noble was born in Dover, New Hampshire, 14 April, 1829, and died in Boston, Massachusetts, 10 June, 1909. Graduating at Harvard College in 1850, first scholar in his Class, he entered of right the Society of Phi Beta Kappa, in the affairs of which he always took a keen and active interest, striving constantly in many ways to promote its welfare.

After a service of several years on the teaching staff of the Boston Latin School, Mr. Noble graduated at the Harvard Law School in 1858, and was admitted to the Bar and to the Bar Association. While a successful practitioner of law in Boston he was appointed, in 1875, Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court for the County of Suffolk, an office he subsequently held by election and re-election until his resignation in 1908. In this capacity he superintended the colossal work, covering a period of nearly twenty-five years, of arranging and binding in twelve hundred folio volumes the Court Files of the Commonwealth from 1630 to 1797.

Mr. Noble was a member of most of the leading college societies; and in after life was in fellowship with many organizations for the promotion of learning, historical research, and philanthropy. He was an Overseer of Harvard College from 1898 till his death. He received from Dartmouth College in 1902 the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

Elected to membership in this Society soon after its formation, Mr. Noble at once entered heartily into its activities. By his written contributions to our Transactions and his devoted service as a member of the Council, as Chairman of the Committee of Publication, and especially as Corresponding Secretary, he gave proof of the sincerity of his frequent observation, that the Colonial Society and its success were very near to his heart. Strong and affectionate in his feelings, upright and faithful in his public and private conduct, loyal to duty and to his friends, and exemplary in all the relations of life, he has left with his colleagues a pattern of rectitude and devotion to duty to be long remembered, and the memory of a steadfast and generous friend.

ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1909

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Monday, 22 November, 1909, at six o'clock in the afternoon, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

Mr. ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL of Cambridge was elected a Resident Member.

On the recommendation of the Council, the name of the Hon. JAMES BURRILL ANGELL was transferred from the Corresponding Roll to the Honorary Roll.

The Annual Report of the Council was presented and read by the Rev. HENRY A. PARKER.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

Since the last Annual Meeting, five Stated Meetings of the Society have been held. As we are still without a building of our own, we are again indebted to the American Unitarian Association for its continued hospitality in lending us a room for our meetings in its building on Beacon Street, — a courtesy which the Council has gratefully acknowledged.

Since the appointment of an Editor of Publications, five years ago, six volumes have been completed, a seventh is nearing completion, and the text of an eighth is largely in type. With the material on hand we may hope to maintain, if not to increase, the rate of publication. It is obvious, however, that to accomplish this purpose a large and immediate addition to the Publication Funds is imperative; and it is also of the first importance that a permanent fund

of \$25,000 should be secured for the payment of the Editor's salary, which was provided for by the liberality of some of our members for five years, now drawing to a close.

The publication of the early Harvard College Records, made possible through the generosity of Mr. Frederick Lewis Gay, is progressing satisfactorily; and the Society has other material on hand the publication of which can be, and should be, hastened by a special contribution to our funds.

The Society was honored by an invitation to be represented with other learned societies at the inauguration of Abbott Lawrence Lowell as the twenty-fourth President of Harvard College. Mr. Henry Herbert Edes was appointed our delegate, and at the formal reception of the delegates presented an engrossed address of salutation from this Society.

During the year the Society has lost by death four Resident Members, —

JOHN NOBLE,
CALEB BENJAMIN TILLINGHAST,
ARTHUR LAWRENCE,
EDWARD EVERETT HALE;

one Honorary Member, —

SIMON NEWCOMB;

and two Corresponding Members, —

WOLCOTT GIBBS,
WILLIAM REED HUNTINGTON.

JOHN NOBLE became a member of the Society soon after its foundation and at once entered heartily into its work, contributed many valuable papers to our Transactions, and at his death was Chairman of the Committee of Publication and Corresponding Secretary. In all his relations with the Society he showed the same qualities of diligence, uprightness, and faithfulness which his associates on the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, in the Courts, and elsewhere recognized as characteristic of him. In his death, the Society has sustained an irreparable loss.

CALEB BENJAMIN TILLINGHAST, long a picturesque figure in the streets of Boston, had an interesting career as an educator and jour-

nalist before entering the public service of the Commonwealth. Besides being a member of various boards and commissions, he was for thirty years the able Assistant Librarian and Librarian of the Massachusetts State Library and Treasurer of the Board of Education.

ARTHUR LAWRENCE for more than a generation was rector of St. Paul's Church, Stockbridge, and a foremost citizen of the town. After service in the Civil War on General Howard's staff during Sherman's march from Atlanta to the sea, and extensive travel in Europe, Egypt, and the Holy Land, he entered upon his life work with a zeal which was unflagging to the end. His serious, quiet life, and cheerful, unfailing courtesy, endeared him to a wide circle of friends and always helped to make pleasanter those meetings of the Society which he was able to attend.

EDWARD EVERETT HALE, Chaplain of the United States Senate at the time of his death, was widely known at home and abroad as teacher, minister, author, editor, and philanthropist. A leader in the formation of Chautauqua circles and Lend-a-Hand Clubs, public-spirited and active in all good works, he had long been recognized as Boston's first citizen.

SIMON NEWCOMB, honored in both hemispheres, was one of the most eminent men of science this country has produced. An astronomer of the first rank, he was constantly in the service of the national government for nearly forty years. The recipient of the most distinguished honors from foreign universities and scientific societies of the highest standing, the Institute of France, and European sovereigns, he was Vice-President and Foreign Secretary of our own National Academy of Sciences and in fellowship with the American Philosophical Society and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. The leading universities of America also bestowed upon him the highest honors within their gift. On more than one occasion Professor Newcomb journeyed from Washington expressly to attend our annual meeting and dinner. So highly did he prize our fellowship that only a few months before his death he wrote that in any enumeration of the many honors which he had received he should place his honorary membership in the Colonial Society of Massachusetts high on the list.

WOLCOTT GIBBS was a man of varied and deep learning, and a pioneer in the higher branches of physical chemistry. Descended

from Oliver Wolcott, who signed the Declaration of Independence, from his son of the same name, who sat in Washington's cabinet, and connected by marriage with William Ellery Channing, Dr. Gibbs was from his earliest childhood surrounded by a stimulating mental atmosphere which was not without its effect upon his own mental development. Bred at Columbia College, he later studied in Europe under Rammelsberg, Heinrich Rose, and Liebig, and attended courses of lectures by Laurent Dumas and Regnault. In 1863 he became Rumford Professor and Lecturer on the Application of Science to the Useful Arts at Harvard. During the War of the Rebellion he was a member of the Executive Committee of the United States Sanitary Commission, and a principal founder of the Union League Club of New York. In 1873 he was United States Commissioner to the Vienna Exposition. He was a charter member and for six years President of the National Academy of Sciences; a Fellow and Councillor of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; and in fellowship with foreign scientific bodies. He was a prolific writer, and during the latter part of his career was "the most commanding figure in American chemistry."

WILLIAM REED HUNTINGTON, long Rector of Grace Church, New York, was an able, forceful leader, who did much for charitable work and to help towards good government.

During the year the following Resident Members have been elected, —

OGDEN CODMAN,
MORRIS HICKY MORGAN,
WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD,
WILLIAM LOWELL PUTNAM,
HAROLD MURDOCK;

and the following has been elected a Corresponding Member, —

JOHN TAGGARD BLODGETT.

Mr. Ford's election was by transfer from the Corresponding Roll.

Acting under Chapter IV, Article 2, of the By-laws of the Society, the Council elected the Rev. Charles Edwards Park to fill the vacancy in the office of Corresponding Secretary, the duties of which office had been for several months of Mr. John Noble's last illness performed by Mr. Henry Ernest Woods.

The TREASURER submitted his Annual Report, as follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending 15 November, 1909.

CASH ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS		
Balance, 18 November, 1908		\$24.27
Admission Fees	\$40.00	
Annual Assessments	610.00	
Commutation of the Annual Assessment	500.00	
Sales of the Society's Publications	54.98	
Sales of the Society's paper	43.02	
Interest	2,511.65	
Mortgages, discharged or assigned	2,800.00	
Henry H. Edes, temporary loan without interest	100.00	\$6,659.65
		<u>\$6,683.92</u>
DISBURSEMENTS		
University Press, printing	\$86.33	
A. W. Elson & Co., photogravure plates, negatives, and plate printing	353.48	
C. S. Bradford, negative	3.00	
F. W. Martin, engrossing	40.00	
Clerk hire	56.85	
Ewing W. Hamlen, stenography and typewriting	22.75	
Hill, Smith & Co., record books and stationery	19.85	
Boston Storage Warehouse	24.00	
William H. Hart, auditing	5.00	
Albert Matthews, salary as Editor of Publications	1,000.00	
Carnegie Institution, subscription for 1908 towards Bibliography of American Historical Writings	50.00	
Miscellaneous incidentals	427.30	
Henry H. Edes, temporary loan without interest, repaid	100.00	
Mortgages on improved real estate in Boston	3,500.00	
Interest in adjustment	76.69	\$5,765.25
Balance on deposit in State Street Trust Company, 15 November, 1909		918.67
		<u>\$6,683.92</u>

The Funds of the Society are invested as follows:

\$53,200.00	in First Mortgages, payable in gold coin, on improved property in Boston, Cambridge, and Brookline.
5.00	deposited in Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank.
<u>\$53,205.00</u>	

TRIAL BALANCE

DEBITS		
Cash		\$018.67
Mortgages	\$53,200.00	
Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank	5.00	53,205.00
		<u>\$54,123.67</u>
CREDITS		
Income		\$018.67
Editor's Salary Fund	\$250.00	
Publication Fund	4,350.00	
General Fund	8,605.00	
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund	10,000.00	
Edward Wheelwright Fund	10,000.00	
Robert Charles Billings Fund	10,000.00	
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund	5,000.00	
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr. Fund	3,000.00	
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund	2,000.00	53,205.00
		<u>\$54,123.67</u>

HENRY H. EDES,
Treasurer.

Boston, 15 November, 1909.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts for the year ending 15 November, 1909, have attended to that duty and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched, and that proper evidence of the investments and the balance of cash on hand has been shown to us. This examination is based on the Report of William H. Hart, Auditor.

ANDREW MCF. DAVIS,
W. L. PUTNAM,
Committee.

Boston, 19 November, 1909.

The several Reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the Committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, Mr. THOMAS MINNS presented the

following list of candidates ; and, a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected :

PRESIDENT

HENRY LEFAVOUR

VICE-PRESIDENTS

WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN

MARCUS PERRIN KNOWLTON

RECORDING SECRETARY

HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

CHARLES EDWARDS PARK

TREASURER

HENRY HERBERT EDES

REGISTRAR

FREDERICK LEWIS GAY

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR THREE YEARS

MORTON DEXTER

On behalf of Mr. CHARLES KNOWLES BOLTON, Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS communicated a Memoir of CALEB BENJAMIN TILLINGHAST, which Mr. Bolton had been requested to prepare for publication in the Transactions.

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were the Rév. Dr. James De Normandie, the Rev. Dr. George Hodges, the Rev. Dr. Edward Caldwell Moore, and Messrs. Clarence Saunders Brigham, Francis Henshaw Dewey, Alfred Walter Elson, Frederick Perry Fish, Jerome Davis Greene, Mark Antony De Wolfe Howe, Arthur Pulsford, William Bernard Reid, William Roscoe Thayer, and Winslow Warren. The PRESIDENT presided.



C. B. Tillinghast

MEMOIR
OF
CALEB BENJAMIN TILLINGHAST, LLT.T.D.
BY
CHARLES KNOWLES BOLTON

It is not often given to a man as he walks the streets of a large city to speak to almost every person he meets and to cause many to turn and watch his retreating steps. But for many years Mr. Tillinghast was a familiar figure to Bostonians. His stout form, slightly bent, his very full face framed in long curly hair and crowned by a felt hat with broad brim, suggested a Quaker of an earlier generation to which sect his ancestors belonged; although his wonderful capacity to judge men and to aid them kept him allied to the present.

Mr. Tillinghast was born at West Greenwich, Rhode Island, April 3, 1843, the son of Pardon Tillinghast, who had chosen his wife Eunice from the same stock and family name. In his childhood the family moved to Windham County, Connecticut, where the son worked on a farm when he was not attending the rural school. He walked five miles on Saturdays to get books from an association library to supplement the meagre instruction of the school-room. While living at Killingly he became in early manhood a school visitor, and held other minor offices, both civic and in connection with the Good Templars. Here he married Ardelia Martin Wood, August 10, 1862, and here also their son Linwood Morton Tillinghast was born July 4, 1865.

In the spring of 1870 Mr. Tillinghast came to Boston, obtaining a position as reporter on the Boston Journal. He soon rose to be city editor, bringing into service his wide and accurate knowledge of

political history, and his keen insight into the motives which govern men. This ability never deserted him through forty years. During this time he had abandoned journalism to become assistant librarian and librarian of the State Library of Massachusetts, serving from 1879 to 1909. He may be best remembered as the creator and efficient executive of a large state library, rich in statutes, local history, and documents. But to those who knew him most intimately he was more than an astute buyer, or even user, of books. It was his influence upon men that endeared him to those about him. He was as gentle as a child in his daily intercourse with those whom he came to trust. He was sensitive to criticism, and he was equally careful of the feelings of others; but to the aggressive or assuming visitor he could be as cold as civility would permit. He openly hated pretension and sham, so that a certain class in the community was wont to marvel at the magnitude of his influence at the State House. Governors, senators, and the more humble Boston representatives of foreign parentage turned to him with equal faith in his wisdom. It became a byword in the corridors there to "see Tillinghast."

His first official appointment as acting librarian had come through John W. Dickinson, then secretary of the State Board of Education and State Librarian. In 1893, under Governor Russell, he became "State Librarian," and this title he held through his life.¹ For thirty years he served as clerk and treasurer of the State Board of Education, guiding the rapid development of education by thorough familiarity and sympathy with the work being done and the ideals being sought for. These ideals demanded closer coöperation between schools and the public library, and Mr. Tillinghast saw into the future. Governor Brackett appointed him chairman of the newly created Massachusetts Free Public Library Commission in 1890, and through its work he soon became known to every town in the State.

¹ In his Memorial to Mr. Tillinghast, Mr. George H. Martin says:

In 1849, in order to give the Board and its Secretary an office, an act of the legislature made the Secretary of the Board of Education State Librarian with the power to appoint an assistant librarian and clerk, and the business of the Board was installed in one of the rooms of the Library.

This relation between the Board and the Library continued under sanction of law until 1893, when provision was made by statute for the appointment of the Librarian by the Governor.

Mr. Tillinghast took great interest in our normal schools, and devoted many moments to promising young students from country towns who wished to get a teacher's education. He also interested himself in methods of instruction for the deaf, the blind, and the feeble minded. Friendships begun in 1870, with others as the years passed, led him into many societies, the Old Colony Historical Society, the Weymouth Historical Society, the Worcester Society of Antiquity, the Buffalo Historical Society, the Chicago Historical Society, the Western Reserve Historical Society, the American Antiquarian Society, the Boston Art Club, the Appalachian Mountain Club, the General Theological Library, the Massachusetts Total Abstinence Society, and the Boston Young Men's Christian Union. Their variety of aim testifies to the catholicity of his tastes.

Apart from his work at the State House and in the accumulation of a private library, he devoted time and thought to the welfare of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. He rarely attended meetings of the Society, but in the Council and in Committees his clear mind and incisive reasoning made him for a decade the greatest single force in its affairs. As Vice-President for Massachusetts and chairman of the Committee on Publications he had an opportunity to encourage every plan which gave promise of increasing the Society's usefulness. His connection with the Colonial Society of Massachusetts began in 1907, and covered a period in which his health gave evidence of failing.

His recreation consisted in an occasional trolley ride into the country, with a good inn as his objective point; and on these outings he would enjoy a quiet companion who might know and appreciate the little humors of such a journey. His avocation was the search for biographical material for his lives of members of the Massachusetts State government. He used to say that he had written over 75,000 letters in the quest, all the work being done by the evening lamp. Another pursuit in which he took delight was the collection of rare editions of the writings of John Ruskin.

He worked incessantly for the Commonwealth, promoting education, creating libraries, advising officials upon every variety of subject, and receiving as compensation only his salary as librarian. He was offered several positions of greater remuneration, among

others the librarianship of the Boston Public Library, but he preferred not to change. He had opportunities to write and to lecture, and even to acquire money by lending the use of his name on title-pages of books which he was not to write or compile; but he was sensitive lest he might seem to turn his official position indirectly to his profit. To a man who estimated honor with such true discrimination, fitting recognition came in its pleasantest forms. He received the honorary degree of Master of Arts from Harvard University in June, 1897, and the degree of Doctor of Literature from Tufts College in 1905.

As age and illness came upon him new library methods made their appeal to him less strongly. He could not understand those who felt that in preparation for the time when his great knowledge and strong personality should be gone some devices, mechanical and conventional, should be introduced into his library. Just as he clung to old and well-tried methods, he drew about him the ties of old friendships, and never lost the kindly smile and pressure of the hand for those who were worthy of his affection.

He died after several slight operations at the Massachusetts Homoeopathic Hospital in the early morning of April 28, 1909. He had married in Boston, June 30, 1886, Mrs. Martha Ann (Lane) Wonson of Gloucester, and she survives him, together with Mr. Tillinghast's son Linwood.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1909

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 23 December, 1909, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the Annual Meeting were read and approved.

The Council reported that at its Stated Meeting held on the second instant Mr. THOMAS MINNS had been elected a member of the Council for the unexpired term ending 21 November, 1912, to fill the vacancy caused by the declination of service of the Rev. MORTON DEXTER.

The Report of the CORRESPONDING SECRETARY announced that letters had been received from Mr. ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL accepting Resident Membership, and from the Hon. JAMES BURRILL ANGELL accepting Honorary Membership.

Mr. MORRIS H. MORGAN made the following remarks :

I have recently found, among the papers of the Presidents of Harvard College,¹ an unpublished letter from Professor Eichhorn of Göttingen to President Kirkland about George Bancroft. It is well known that Bancroft went to Göttingen with the purpose of studying for the ministry. He took with him a letter of introduction from Kirkland to Eichhorn and an extract from this letter of introduction has already been printed by Mr. Howe in his life of Bancroft.² This extract was copied by Bancroft into an exercise book which is now in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and it was as follows, as I am informed by our associate Mr. Worthington C. Ford :

They (his friends) wish him to attend *especially* to *philology*, the ancient *languages*, & *Oriental literature*, that he may thus be qualified to

¹ Harvard College Papers, viii. 89.

² Life and Letters of George Bancroft, i. 33.

pursue theological studies to the greatest benefit, to give instruction as any opening may occur & invite, & become an accomplished philologist & Biblical Critic, able to expound & defend the Revelation of God.

Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752-1827) was one of the leading Orientalists and Biblical scholars of his day. We know from one of Bancroft's letters ¹ that he was "more celebrated at Cambridge than any other of the Göttingen professors," yet we find that the young student (he was only eighteen years of age) hesitated at first to study under him, "being unwilling to give my friends any reasonable ground for fearing that I should lose my belief in or respect for Christianity." The fact is that Eichhorn in his time was reckoned somewhat bold and rationalizing in his exegesis of Holy Writ, although now, I believe, he is classed among defenders of the tradition. It is much to the credit of one of the wisest presidents of Harvard that he did not shrink from entrusting a promising candidate for the ministry to the instruction of such a scholar. Bancroft soon became his devoted pupil in Arabic, Hebrew, and interpretation of the scriptures, and it was from the hands of Eichhorn, as Dean of the Faculty, that he finally received his degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1820. Another American had still earlier come under Eichhorn's spell, for in 1815 we find George Ticknor writing: "I am delighted above all with his eloquence and enthusiasm, and deep and genuine love of truth."²

But to return to the unpublished letter from Eichhorn to Kirkland which I have the pleasure of communicating. It was written in December, 1818, a little more than three months after Bancroft had presented himself to Eichhorn. The handwriting is small but clear; the language is Latin and as follows:

Vir Perillustis atque Excellentissime,

Litteris Tuis humanissime scriptis quo minus promptius responderem obstiterunt plura, primum iter in patriam meam Franconiam susceptum, deinde post meum ad castra nostra reditum multarum rerum cura, per longam meam absentiam cumulata. Iam vero nulla interposita mora gratias Tibi ago quas possum maximas pro propensa Tua erga me voluntate, qua non dubitasti Georgium Bancroftium, humanissimum Iuvenem, meae curae commendare, meaeque potissimum disciplinae tradere. Laudari enim a viro laudato non ultima laus est.

Laeto autem animo Tibi nuncio, Bancroftium Tuum Tua se comen-

¹ Life and Letters of George Bancroft, i. 42. ² Life and Letters (1909), i. 79.

datione se exhibere dignissimum pietate, modestia, morum elegantia et indefesso in litteris proficiendi studio. Cuius rei ipse quotidie testis sum, quandoquidem per semestre quod iam decurrit hibernum scholis meis exegeticis in priorem Novi Testamenti epistolarum partem adest Auditor, praeclare sua virtute eminens, ut adeo cum diligentissimis disciplinae meae Alumnis de diligentia, industria, assiduitatis laude certare videatur, nec dubium sit, ut aliquando ad patrios Lares redux ingenio bonis litteris exculito omniumque seculorum spoliis ornato patriam suam condecoret. Ceterum abs Te enixe peto, ut Tibi habeas persuasum, quamlibet occasionem, qua Iuvenis humanissimi studia litterarum, in quae tanta animi contentione fervet, vel consiliis vel rebus in facto positis juvare possim mihi fore gratissimam. — Tu autem, Vir Perillustris, pergas velim Tua me propensa voluntate complecti, Tibique persuadeas, me summa animi observantia Tibi esse deditissimum. Vale, resque Tuas age quam felicissime.

Nominis Tui Perillustris

Cultor observantissimus

GOTTINGAE

IO. GODOFR. EICHORN.

d. XXVII. Dec. c190cccckviii.

This letter may be translated thus:

Very illustrious and most excellent Sir,

Many things have prevented me from making an earlier reply to your most polite letter, — in the first place a journey to my native land Franconia, and afterwards, since my return to our station, a press of business which had accumulated in consequence of my absence. But now without further postponement I thank you most heartily for the kind favor which you have shown me in not hesitating to recommend that most enlightened young gentleman, George Bancroft, to my attention and to entrust him to my particular instruction. It is no small praise to be praised by a man who is praised by all the world.

I am happy to inform you that Bancroft is showing himself most deserving of your recommendation by his dutiful conduct, modesty, and polished manners, as well as by a tireless devotion to progress in learning. Of this last I am myself a daily witness, for during the current winter semester he has been attending my exegetical exercises in the first part of the epistles of the New Testament, where he has so distinguished himself by his excellence that he obviously rivals the most diligent of my own trained pupils in diligence, industry, and praiseworthy assiduity. There is no doubt that when he returns to his home with his natural genius refined by the best literature and furnished with the spoils of all the ages,

he will become an ornament to his country. I earnestly beg you to believe that I shall most gladly welcome every occasion on which I can assist, with words or deeds, the literary studies of this most enlightened young gentleman, to which he is devoting himself with so much intellectual vigor. — As for yourself, very illustrious sir, pray continue to bestow your kind favor upon me, and be assured of my most devoted respect. Farewell, and may you be most successful in all that you undertake.

Your most obedient servant,

GÖTTINGEN,
27 Dec. 1818.

IO. GOTTFRIED EICHORN.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS read the following paper :

ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF MAINE.

It is not a little singular that the origin of the names of some of our States, even the older ones, is still more or less in doubt. The State of Maine has a name which antedates the names of all other States except Virginia and Massachusetts.¹ How Maine received its name has been a subject of controversy. But though much has been written on the subject, yet, as some of the points involved are obscure, as some historians still cling to a theory long ago exploded, as there appears even now to be a hesitancy on the part of many other historians in accepting what is without doubt the true origin, and as a thorough account of the matter has apparently never been written, an apology for a new presentation of the case is hardly needed.

In the charter granted by Charles I to Sir Ferdinando Gorges on April 3, 1639, occur these words:

KNOW YE therefore that of Our special Grace, certain Knowledge & mere Motion, We . . . by these Presents for Us, Our Heirs & Successors do give, grant & confirm unto the said Sir Ferdinando Gorges . . . all that Part, Purpart, & Portion of the Main Land of New England afore-said . . . as also all the Islands & Isletts lying within five Leagues of the

¹ The name Virginia, as is of course well known, was, when given by Queen Elizabeth at the time she knighted Raleigh (January 6, 1584-85), applied to an indefinite tract of territory north of Florida. The name Massachusetts occurs in Capt. John Smith's Description of New England, published in 1616. The name Connecticut (under the form Quonehtacut) is found in Winthrop's Journal under date of April 4, 1631. The Connecticut River was named the Fresh River by the Dutch, and continued to be so called by them long after the adoption by the English of the name Connecticut.

Main all along the aforesaid Coasts . . . all which s^d Part Purpart or Portion of the said Main Land, & all & every the Premises herein before named We do for us Our Heirs & Successors create & incorporate into one Province or County, And We do name, ordain & appoint that the Portion of the Main Land & Premises aforesaid shall forever hereafter be called & named the Province or County of Maine, & not by any other Name or Names whatsoever.¹

So far as I know it was not until the close of the eighteenth century that a theory was advanced in regard to the origin of this title. In 1795 Sullivan said:

Gorges and Mason, supposed that they had now their enemies under their feet, and agreeing to divide their territory, Gorges, in the year 1639, obtained from the King a very extraordinary grant of all the lands between the river Piscataqua, and the river Kenebeck or Sagadahock, and extending one hundred and twenty miles into the country from the sea. This was granted under the name of the Province of Maine. Prior to this grant, the name of Province, or County of Maine, was never known.²

A little farther on, but still referring to the year 1639, Sullivan remarked:

The territory was then called the Province of Mayne, by way of a compliment to the queen of Charles I. who was a daughter of France, and owned as her private estate, a province there, called the Province of Meyne, now called the Province of Maine. But since the general government has made our territory a district, it has lost one of the letters which formerly was used, and is now called Main.³

In 1803 Abiel Holmes, copying Sullivan, said: "The name of the Province of Maine was given in compliment to the queen of Charles I, who owned, as her private estate in France, the Province of Meyne."⁴ In 1830 George Folsom, who later changed his opinion, said that

¹ Documentary History of the State of Maine, vii. 223, 224. In the Century Cyclopedia of Names is this: "Maine. [In the charter granted by Charles I. in 1639 named 'The Province or Countie of *Mayne*,' because regarded as a part of 'the Mayne Lande of New England.']" This reason, it is perhaps unnecessary to point out, is not found in the charter itself.

² History of Maine, p. 122.

³ Ibid. p. 307.

⁴ American Annals, i. 311 note.

"The name was bestowed in compliment to the queen of England, a daughter of Henry IV. of France, who was connected by title or estate with the province of Meyne in France."¹ In 1832 Williamson wrote:

The provincial *name of MAINE*, though one by which this section of country was at that time *frequently called*, was chosen, probably, in compliment to the queen, who had inherited a province of the *same name* in France. For this double reason, it was a name preferable to the old one, taken from the county of Somerset, in which the patentee had his residence and perhaps his birth.²

In an address delivered at Brunswick, Maine, on September 6, 1846, George Folsom said that "The next event of general interest in the history of the State, is the confirmation of the patent from the Council of Plymouth to Gorges by a new charter from the Crown, in which the territory is first styled the PROVINCE OF MAINE, of which he was made Lord Palatine."³ In a footnote, after quoting Sullivan, Folsom wrote:

Such is the prevailing impression as to the origin of the name finally given by Gorges to his province, but unfortunately for its accuracy, the province of Maine in France did not appertain to Queen Henrietta Maria, but to the crown; nor is it discoverable that she possessed any interest in that province.⁴

¹ History of Saco and Biddeford, p. 53.

² History of the State of Maine, i. 277. Early in 1635 the Council of the Plymouth Company decided to return its charter into the hands of the King; but before doing so, an agreement was made on February 3, 1634-35, for the several divisions of the seacoasts of New England. In this division no name is given to that portion which became Gorges's, but he soon (in 1636) called it New Somerset or New Somersetshire. For the history of the name of Somerset as employed in Maine, see Publications of this Society, vi. 61-70.

³ Folsom is not the only one who has fallen into error in calling Gorges "Lord Palatine." Gov. Chamberlain did the same (Maine: her Place in History, p. 54), and also a writer in London Notes and Queries, Ninth Series, xii. 23. Such a title, however, was not used by Gorges himself. See Publications of this Society, viii. 206-207.

⁴ Collections of the Maine Historical Society, ii. 58. Folsom adds: "The biography of this queen recently published by Miss Strickland, is a work of intense interest and apparently drawn from original and authentic sources." This allusion would seem to indicate that Folsom, who in 1830 (as quoted in the text) had held that Henrietta Maria was "connected by title or estate with

How the notion that a princess, who in 1639 was a younger sister of the King of France (Louis XIII), "owned as her private estate" or "inherited" a French province should have occurred to any one, it is not easy to see. Yet in spite of the pointing out of the error by Folsom as long ago as 1846 — reinforced by W. S. Southgate in 1853,¹ by Palfrey in 1859,² by Bryant and Gay in 1876,³ and by Governor Joshua L. Chamberlain⁴ in 1876 — Sullivan's notion has been often repeated and is still entertained. "When he," wrote W. Willis in 1857, referring to Gorges, "obtained a confirmation of his title from Charles I, in 1639 with powers of government, he gave it the name of Maine, in compliment to the Queen, a daughter of France, who held the Province of Mayne in that country as her dowry."⁵ "Maine," said an anonymous writer in 1872, "derived its name it is said, from the province of Maine, in France, and was so called in compliment to the Queen of Charles the First, Henrietta of France, who owned that province."⁶ "The queen of England," declared John S. C. Abbott in 1875, "had inherited a province of that name in France."⁷ "The name of the territory," remarked George J. Varney in 1890, alluding to Gorges's charter of 1639, "under the new charter was changed to 'Maine,' in honor of the Queen, whose patrimonial estate as Princess of France, was the French province of *Mayne*."⁸

In 1850 Susan Fenimore Cooper gave a somewhat different twist to Sullivan's theory, writing:

Maine, the former satellite of Massachusetts, was named by the French colonists after the fertile province on the banks of the Loire, . . . The French have generally given respectable names, either repetitions of personal titles, or of local names, or else descriptive words: la Louisiane, les Carolines, le Maine, Montreal, Quebec, Canada; for, as

the province of Meyne in France," changed his opinion as a result of something said by Miss Strickland; but in her sketch of Henrietta Maria (*Lives of the Queens of England*, 1845, viii. 1-266) she apparently does not mention the French province of Maine.

¹ Collections of the Maine Historical Society, iii. 31 note.

² History of New England, i. 525 note.

³ History of the United States, i. 337 note.

⁴ Maine: her Place in History (1877), p. 54 note.

⁵ Collections of the Maine Historical Society, vol. v. p. xxi.

⁶ American Historical Record, i. 211.

⁷ History of Maine, p. 107.

⁸ Brief History of Maine (second edition), p. 42.

we have already observed, leaving a good Indian name is equal to giving one of our own.¹

In speaking of "the fertile province on the banks of the Loire," Miss Cooper apparently confused the ancient province of Maine, which was not on the Loire, with the modern department of "Maine-et-Loire," which is. Passing over two or three other statements in the above passage which are open to criticism, it is merely necessary to remark that our Maine obtained its name from the early English explorers and not from the French colonists, by whom indeed it was apparently never called "le Maine."

Though Folsom and subsequent writers have indicated that Sullivan's theory about the French province of Maine is untenable, yet apparently no one of them has shown exactly what the history of that province has been. Hence the following account from the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is pertinent:

Hugh Capet made the countship of Maine hereditary in the person of Hugh I. . . . The people of Le Mans availed themselves of the absence of the Conqueror in England to rise against him, and were ultimately successful in gaining their freedom. Maine became united with Anjou by the marriage of its heiress with Fulk of Anjou, father of Geoffrey Plantagenet. Henry II. of England, the son of Geoffrey, was born at Le Mans. On the confiscation of the estates of King John, Maine passed to Philip Augustus of France; by Louis IX., the grandson of Philip, it was handed over in 1245 to Charles, count of Provence, afterwards king of Naples; and in 1328 it was reunited to the domains of the crown by Philip of Valois, who was count of Maine. It was again separated by his grandson Louis of Anjou, the brother of King Charles V. During the Hundred Years' War, Maine was a continual battlefield; the English were driven out by Dunois, who took possession of Le Mans in 1447. In 1481, on the death of Charles of Maine, the last scion of the house of Anjou, Maine was again united to the French crown by Louis XI.

But we are not yet done with Sullivan. "Prior to this grant," he says, meaning the charter of April 3, 1639, "the name of Province, or County of Maine, was never known."² Though this statement has been repeated by Williamson (1832), Folsom (1846),³ Southgate

¹ *Rural Hours*, pp. 479, 483.

² See p. 367, above.

³ See p. 368, above.

(1853), Willis (1857), R. K. Sewall (1859),¹ Palfrey (1859), Abbott (1875), Bryant and Gay (1876), and by Varney (1890), it is nevertheless an error.² On August 22, 1622, the Council for New England made to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason a grant in which occur the words:

Now this Indenture witnesseth that ye s^d President and Councill . . . doe give grant bargain sell assigne alien sett over and confirme unto y^e s^d Sr Ferdinando Gorges & Cap^t Iohn Mason their heirs and assignes all that part of y^e maine land in New England lying vpon y^e Sea Coast betwixt y^e rivers of Merimack & Sagadahock . . . wth said porcons of lands wth y^e appurtenances the said Sr Ferdinando Gorges and Capt Iohn Mason wth the consent of y^e President & Councell intend to name y^e PROVINCE OF MAINE.³

Here, then, in 1622, and not in 1639, we first find the title Province of Maine. Before showing how that fact, unknown until 1860, affects the question of the origin of the name of Maine, it will be appropriate to explain how writers previous to 1860 were led astray. It is probable that the early charters⁴ relating to Maine and to New Hampshire are more numerous and more perplexing than those relating to any other colony; and whoever has had occasion to consult them knows how tedious is the process of examination and how many are the pitfalls. If, even at the present day, when doubtless all the charters extant can be consulted in print, historians yet make mistakes, it is small wonder that hopeless confusion and uncertainty existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when few had been printed and the exact contents of many were unknown. Thus it was not until the publication in 1860 of the first volume of the Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574-1660, that it became known that the title Province of Maine occurs in the grant of August 22, 1622, and it was not until 1862 that the grant was printed in full.⁵ On

¹ Ancient Dominions of Maine, p. 124.

² Gov. Chamberlain makes a curious slip. In one place he speaks of the grant of August 10, 1622, "which the indenture itself states 'they intend to call the PROVINCE OF MAINE,'" yet a little later declares that in the charter of April 3, 1639, the territory "was now for the first time, and by charter, named the PROVINCE OF MAINE" (Maine: her Place in History, pp. 44, 54).

³ Documentary History of the State of Maine, vii. 66, 67, 68.

⁴ The word "charter" as here used includes charters, grants, and patents, as it is impossible to distinguish between the terms.

⁵ In J. A. Poor's Vindication of the Claims of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, pp. 121-123.

November 17, 1629, the Council for New England made to Gorges and Mason a grant of territory which "the said S^r Ferdinando Gorges and Cap^t In^o Mason with the consent of the president & Councill intend to name THE PROVINCE OF LACONIA."¹ In 1784 Belknap confused the two grants, and, speaking of the grant of August 10, 1622, said: "The next year another grant was made, to Gorges and Mason jointly, of all the lands between the rivers Merrimack and Sagadahock, extending back to the great lakes and river of Canada, and this was called LACONIA."² It has been stated that "all writers, until recently, have called the grant of Aug. 10, 1622, the *Laconia* grant;"³ but Sullivan, though he had no exact information about the grant of November 17, 1629, pointed out that Belknap must be mistaken.⁴ Nevertheless, Belknap's error has been repeated by Williamson (1832),⁵ Folsom (1846),⁶ Southgate (1853),⁷ Palfrey (1859),⁸ Bancroft (1883),⁹ and Varney (1890).¹⁰

Let us now return to the grant of August 10, 1622, and its bearing on Sullivan's theory of the origin of the name. In 1639 Henrietta Maria was the wife of King Charles, but in 1622 her future husband was merely Prince Charles and unmarried. It is true that his marriage with Henrietta Maria had been broached in 1620, but it was not seriously considered until 1624 and did not take place until 1625. Though attention was called to this point by Charles W. Tuttle as long ago as 1872, yet his remarks have apparently escaped the notice of all subsequent writers on the subject. He said:

The name, Maine, was first authoritatively and deliberately applied to that part of the State lying west of the Kennebec River, in the charter

¹ Documentary History of the State of Maine, vii. 102.

² History of New Hampshire, i. 8.

³ S. F. Haven, History of Grants under the Great Council for New England, in Early History of Massachusetts (1867), p. 150. Charles Deane called attention to Belknap's mistake in Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April 24, 1867, p. 56 note, and *ibid.* for October 21, 1868, p. 34.

⁴ History of Maine, pp. 267-269. Yet Sullivan himself seems to have been hopelessly confused. Cf. pp. 111, 119, 304.

⁵ History of the State of Maine, i. 225.

⁶ Collections of the Maine Historical Society, ii. 52.

⁷ *Ibid.* iii. 30.

⁸ History of New England, i. 205.

⁹ History of the United States (1876), i. 257; *ibid.* (1883), i. 217.

¹⁰ Brief History of Maine, p. 34.

of the great council for New-England, granting this territory to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason, dated August 10, 1622. In this charter it is styled the "Province of Maine." This event was nearly two years before the Princess Henrietta Maria of France was thought of for a wife to Prince Charles of England. At the time this name was inserted in the charter, a marriage treaty was pending, and had been for some years, between the courts of England and Spain, having for its object the marriage of Prince Charles and the Infanta Maria, daughter of Philip III. of Spain. A marriage of these royal parties was expected until early in the year 1624. It is clear from this, and other circumstances that could be mentioned, that the naming of Maine had nothing to do with Henrietta Maria of France, as alleged.¹

Though this statement is correct in general, yet Mr. Tuttle was mistaken in saying that the naming of Maine occurred "nearly two years before the Princess Henrietta Maria of France was thought of for a wife to Prince Charles of England." The negotiations entered into by James I in regard to a marriage between his sons Henry and Charles and the daughters of Henry IV of France and of Philip III of Spain, were many and various. In 1611 John Digby (created Earl of Bristol in 1622) was sent ambassador to Madrid to negotiate a marriage between Prince Henry and the Infanta Anne (who later became the wife of Louis XIII) or the Infanta Maria. An interesting letter, in which both ladies are mentioned, written by Prince Henry himself on July 29, 1612, has been printed;² but his own death in the following November of course put an end to that negotiation. At the age of sixteen, Charles was created Prince of Wales in 1616; but long before that date negotiations were opened in France for marrying him to the Princess Christina (a sister of Henrietta Maria, and later the wife of Victor Amadeus I, Duke of Savoy), and in November, 1613, the scheme was in a fair way to a conclusion. In 1614, again in 1617, and once more in 1622, Digby was sent to Spain to negotiate a marriage between Charles and the Infanta Maria; and on February 17, 1622-23, Charles started on his

¹ Boston Transcript, June 8, 1872, p. 6/4. When this letter was reprinted in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for July, 1875, xxix. 243-244, it was preceded by an editorial note stating: "We learn that Mr. Tuttle is preparing a full account of the origin of the name of Maine." So far as I am aware, that account was never written.

² H. Ellis's Original Letters, Second Series (1827), iii. 226-228.

ill-fated journey to Madrid, passing through Paris, where he saw for the first time his future wife.¹ Meanwhile, however, the French proposals had not been allowed entirely to drop. In 1618 James Hay (created Earl of Carlisle in 1622) was sent to Paris to demand the hand of Christina for Charles.² In 1620 a proposal to marry Henrietta Maria to Charles came from France itself; and on the breaking off of the Spanish treaty in 1624, Henry Rich (then Baron Kensington and in the same year created Earl of Holland) and James Hay (then Earl of Carlisle) were sent to Paris to complete the negotiations. On May 1, 1625, five weeks after his accession to the throne, Charles was married by proxy, and on June 13 he received his bride at Canterbury.³

Though Williamson stated that the name of Maine "was chosen, probably, in compliment to the queen," yet both in his text and in

¹ Mr. Baxter says that "Charles, accompanied by the dissolute Buckingham, had seen and wooed the princess Maria, but, returning through France *incognito*, had stopped in Paris, and at a ball there had seen the French princess Henrietta" (Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine, Prince Society, i. 133). It was, however, on their journey to Madrid that the two travelled *incognito*. Charles left the Escorial September 2, 1623, sailed from Santander September 18, and landed at Portsmouth October 5. (Gardiner, Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage, ii. 409, 413, 421.) In a letter dated Paris, February 22, 1622-23, Charles himself gave this description:

Since the closing of our last we have beene at Court againe, (and that we might not hould you in paine, we assure you that we have not been knowen,) where we saw the young Queene, littell Monsieuer, and Madame, at the practising of a Maske that is intended by the Queene to be presented to the Kinge, and in it ther danced the Queene and Madame with as manie as made up nineteen faire dancing Ladies, amongst which the Queene is the handsomest, which hath wrought in me a greater desier to see her sister. (In H. Ellis's Original Letters, 1824, iii. 121-122.)

The wife of Louis XIII was Anne, sister of the Infanta Maria; "littell Monsieuer" was Gaston, Duke of Orleans; "Madame" was the Princess Henrietta Maria. Henrietta Maria's sister Elizabeth married Philip IV of Spain. After the breaking off of the English marriage, the Infanta Maria married the Emperor Ferdinand III.

² In an account of an interview with Lady Carew, dated September 19, 1618, Sir Thomas Wilson said, referring to Queen Anne of England, that "Her Majesty said she would rather have the match with M^{de}. Chretienne than the Spanish lady with all her gold" (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1611-1618, p. 573).

³ See the notices (by S. R. Gardiner) of Charles, Digby, Hay, and Henrietta Maria, and that of Rich (by C. H. Firth) in the Dictionary of National Biography; Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1611-1618, 1619-1623, 1623-1625.

a footnote he indicated its true origin.¹ "By reason of the great number of Islands in this quarter," he says in a footnote, "the shores, or coast, were frequently called 'the *Main*.'" He then cites three examples and thus concludes: "This expression, 'the *Main*,' is common in old authors." It was indeed common — so common that other examples would hardly be necessary were it not for the fact that historians have shown a singular hesitancy in accepting this origin of the name. "This eastern country," said Palfrey in 1859, "had commonly been called the *Mayne* [main] land, in distinction from the numerous islands on its coast, . . . and thus perhaps it was that Gorges's province obtained its name."² Tuttle wrote in 1872:

It seems reasonably certain that the State of Maine owes its name to no European State, province or personage, but to its own unique geographical features.³ Years before the name appeared in this charter to Gorges and Mason, its territory, or the littoral part of it, was commonly designated by English mariners and writers, "*The Main*," variously spelt, to distinguish it from its insular parts lying off the shore. This origin of the name, proposed long ago, seems to be the true one.⁴

"Maine, like all the rest of the coast," declared Bryant and Gay in 1876, "was known as the 'Maine,' the mainland, and it is not unlikely that the word so much used by the early fishers on the coast, may thus have been permanently given to this part of it."⁵ "There

¹ In his text (see p. 368, above) Williamson spoke of "the provincial name of Maine, though one by which this section of the country was at that time frequently called," etc. This statement is somewhat misleading. The word "main" was applied to the mainland along the coast, but it was not applied to the territory as such. Previous to the charter of April 1, 1639, the country was once and once only called "Maine" — namely, in the grant of August 10, 1622. Thus before 1639 a man at Boston or Plymouth would never have said that he was going "to Maine," meaning the present State of Maine. He might have said that he was "going to the main;" but that would have left the exact locality in doubt. See also note 3, below.

² History of New England, i. 525 note.

³ In speaking of Maine's "own unique geographical features," Tuttle was using exaggerated language. Maine is not the only State in the Union that has islands along its coast, though it has more than any other. The word "main" was applied in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the mainland along the entire Atlantic coast, from the Carolinas to Greenland. See also note 1, above.

⁴ Boston Transcript, June 8, 1872, p. 6/4; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxix. 244.

⁵ History of the United States, i. 337 note.

is little doubt," remarked Governor Chamberlain in 1876, "that the name arose in the natural distinction made in common speech between the islands then so much frequented, and the shoreland or the 'main.' The spelling furnishes no argument. The adjective was often spelled 'maine,' and the proper noun 'Main.'"¹ "'Maine' took its name," declared Charles Deane in 1884, "probably from the early designation, by the sailors and fishermen, of the main land — that is, 'the main,' — in distinction from the numerous islands on the coast."²

As, therefore, historians are not over-confident, and as the matter is after all a little perplexing, a few additional remarks will not be lacking in pertinency.³

The word "main" is used in two distinct senses which may be, and sometimes are, confused. First, it is elliptical for "main sea." This use is now poetical or figurative, as in Longfellow's Psalm of Life, "sailing o'er life's solemn main." Secondly, it is elliptical for "mainland," a sense now archaic. The phrase "main of America," meaning the continent of America, was formerly not uncommon; while the term "Spanish Main" is still often heard, though some-

¹ Maine: her Place in History, p. 54 note.

² Narrative and Critical History of America, iii. 363 note.

³ The lack of certainty on the part of historians is doubtless due to the fact that this point has never received adequate treatment. Writers have asserted that the word "main" was frequently used for mainland, but have failed to furnish proof. "The name of 'Province of Maine,'" says Miss Mary F. Farnham, "is first used in the grant to Gorges and Mason, 1622; its origin is not difficult to trace in the frequent use of *maine* as applied to 'maine land,' and 'along the main'" (Documentary History of the State of Maine, vol. vii. p. xxi). And again, referring to the charter of April 3, 1639, she says: "The name 'Province of Maine' is repeated from the grant of 1622. By reference to the early charters it is easy to arrive at a correct idea of the origin of the name, which has survived all the changes of colonial rule, and is perpetuated in the phrase 'State of Maine'" (ibid. vii. 222). It is obvious that nothing later than August 10, 1622, is of value. Now the word "main," in the sense of mainland, occurs only three times previous to that date in the documents printed by Miss Farnham, — namely, on March 3, 1619-20, November 3, 1620, and July 24, 1622. These extracts are quoted in the text, p. 379, below. Hence it is necessary to go to other documents than those given by Miss Farnham. Williamson (History of the State of Maine, i. 277 note), quotes three extracts, one from Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia*, published in 1624, one from a document dated 1635, and one from a work written about 1680. These are of course too late. Palfrey (History of New England, i. 525 note) repeats two of Williamson's citations. In the present paper, for the first time so far as I am aware, full evidence on this point is given.

times it is erroneously used. Thus the fourth stanza in the *Wreck of the Hesperus*, as originally written, read:

Then up and spake an old Sailör,
Had sailed the Spanish Main,
"I pray thee, put into yonder port,
For I fear a hurricane."

When Longfellow discovered or had his attention called to the fact that the Spanish Main was land, not water, he altered the second line to "Had sailed to the Spanish Main."¹

In the sense of mainland, examples of the word "main" will be found in the Oxford English Dictionary ranging from 1555 to 1891, though none have reference to this part of America. Some additional examples follow. In Gabriel Archer's account of Captain Bartholomew Gosnold's voyage to New England in 1602, the word is frequently so used, as thus:

A little from the supposed Iles appeared unto us an opening, with which we stood judging it to bee the end of that which Captaine Gosnoll descrieth from Cape Cod, . . . From this opening the Mayne lyeth South-west, which coasting along we saw a disinhabited Iland which so afterwards appeared unto us: we bore with it, and named it Marthaes Vineyard, . . . the next morning wee sent off our Boate to discover another Cape, that lay betweene us and the Mayne, from which were a ledge of Rockes . . . This called wee Gosnolls Hope; the North banke whereof is the Mayne, which stretcheth East and West. . . . The one and thirtieth [of May], Captaine Gosnoll desirous to see the Maine, because of the distance, hee set sayle over; . . . This Maine is the goodliest Continent that ever we saw, promising more by farre then we any way did expect.²

Alluding to the same voyage, John Brereton wrote:

Hard by, wee espied seven Indians, and comming up to them, at first they expressed some feare; but being emboldned by our courteous usage,

¹ "The poet found out, one day," writes W. J. Rolfe in the *Nation* of October 22, 1908, "that the Spanish Main was the mainland bordering on what he — like nine people out of ten — had supposed to be the sea called by that name" (lxxxvii. 383). Dr. Rolfe, however, does not indicate when the discovery was made. The reading is "Had sailed the Spanish Main" in Longfellow's *Poems*, 1842, ii. 43, and in his *Poems*, 1866, i. 95. In the *Poetical Works*, 1872, p. 40, the reading is "Had sailed to the Spanish Main." Hence the change was made in 1872 or between 1866 and 1872.

² Purchas his *Pilgrimes* (1906), xviii. 306, 307, 309.

and some trifles which we gave them, they followed us to a necke of Land, which wee imagined had beene severed from the Mayne: . . . all the Ilands, as also the Maine (where wee were) is all Rockie Grounds and broken Lands.¹

In his account of a voyage made in 1603, Captain Martin Pring wrote:

At length comming to the Mayne in the latitude of 43. degrees and an halfe, we ranged the same to the South-west. . . . But meeting with no Sassafras, we left these places with all the foresaid Ilands, shaping our course for Savage Rocke, discovered the yeere before by Captaine Gosnold, where going upon the Mayne we found people, with whom we had no long conversation, because here also we could find no Sassafras.²

In his account of Captain George Waymouth's voyage in 1605, James Rosier said:

From hence we might discerne many Ilands, and the maine Land, from the West South-west to the East North-east; and North North-east from us a great way as it then seemed (and as we after found it) up into the Maine, we might discerne very high Mountaines, although the Maine seemed but lowe Land.³

In his Description of New England, published in 1616, Captain John Smith remarked:

Thus you may see, of this 2000. miles more then halfe is yet vnknowne to any purpose: no, not so much as the borders of the Sea are yet certainly discouered. As for the goodness and true substances of the Land, wee are for most part yet altogether ignorant of them, vnlesse it bee those parts about the Bay of *Chisapeack*, and *Sagadahock*: but onely here and there wee touched or haue seene a little the edges of those large dominions, which doe stretch themselues into the Maine, God doth know how many thousand miles.⁴

In a letter written to Purchas on December 27, 1619, Captain Thomas Dermer said:

Departing hence, the next place we arrived at was Capaock, an Iland formerly discovered by the English, . . . the winde faire, I stood away

¹ Purchas his Pilgrimes (1906), xviii. 315.

² Ibid. xviii. 323, 324.

³ Ibid. xviii. 338.

⁴ Description of New England, Works (1884), p. 190.

shaping my course as the Coast led mee, till I came to the most Westerly part where the Coast began to fall away Southerly. In my way I discovered Land about thirtie leagues in length, heretofore taken for Mayne, where I feared I had beene imbayed, but by the helpe of an Indian I got to the Sea againe, through many crooked and streight passages. . . . Being thus overcharged with weather, I stood amongst the coast to seeke harbours, to attend a favourable gale to recover the streight, but being a harbourlesse Coast for ought we could then perceive, wee found no succour till wee arrived betwixt Cape Charles and the Maine on the East side the Bay Chestapeak, where in a wilde Roade wee anchored.¹

In a petition for a charter of New England by the Northern Company of Adventurers, dated March 3, 1619-20, it is asked:

First, that the territories where yo^r peticōners makes their plantacōn may be caled (as by the Prince His Highnes it hath bin named) New ENGLAND, that the boundes thereof may be settled from 40 to 45 degrees of Northerly latitude & soe from sea to sea through the maine as the coast lyeth.²

In the patent of New England, granted by James I on November 20, 1620, are the words:

And wee . . . do by these Presents absolutely give, grant, and confirm unto the said Councill, called the Councill established att Plymouth in the County of Devon for the planting, ruling, and governing of New-England in America, . . . that foresad Part of America, lying, and being in Breadth from ffourty Degrees of Northerly Latitude from the Equinoctiall Line, to ffourty-eight Degrees of the said Northerly Latitude inclusively, and in Length of, and within all the Breadth aforesaid, throughout all the Maine Lands from Sea to Sea, together also, with the Firme Lands, Soyles, Grounds, Havens, Ports, . . . Fishings, Mines, and Mineralls, . . . and all, and singular other Comodities, Jurisdictions, Royalties, Privileges, Franchises, and Preheminences, both within the same Tract of Land upon the Maine, and also within the said Islands and Seas adjoining.³

In a minute of the Council for New England made on July 24, 1622, we read:

¹ Purchas his Pilgrimes, xix. 132, 133.

² Documentary History of the State of Maine, vii. 17.

³ Ibid. vii. 33.

It is ordered and agreed that the Lord Duke of Lenox have for his devident and part of the Mayne Land of New England in America, from ye middle of Sawahquatoock towards Sagadahoc, and his bounds that way to reach mid way betweene Sawahquatoock and Sagadahoc upon ye Coast. And to reach 30 miles backward into ye Mayne. And 3 Leagues into ye sea. . . . The Earle of Arundele to have for his devident from ye middle of Sagadahoc, and to goe northeast soe much on his side, as Mr. Secretary¹ goes on y^e other side upon y^e Coast. And to reach miles backward into ye Mayne, and 3 leagues into ye Sea.²

It would be useless to continue these extracts, which could be adduced indefinitely. Enough have been given to show that long before the appearance in 1622 of the title Province of Maine, the word "main" in the sense of mainland had been in common use among the early explorers along the New England coast.

NOTE ON THE NAME OF MARIANA.

On March 9, 1621-22, Capt. John Mason received from the Council for New England a grant of territory lying between the Naumkeag and the Merrimac, "w^{ch} said porçons of Lands wth the appurtenances the s^d J^{hn} Mason with the consent of the President and Councill intendeth to name Mariana."³ In 1890 Mr. James P. Baxter wrote: "No reason has heretofore been assigned why Mason gave the name Mariana to his possessions between the Naumkeag and Merrimac; but it seems evident that this name was bestowed upon it in honor of the Spanish princess Maria, whose proposed marriage with Prince Charles was then the principal topic of discussion."⁴ Mr. Baxter has overlooked a letter written June 7, 1872, in which Charles W. Tuttle said: "I may add, in

¹ Sir George Calvert, later first Baron Baltimore.

² Documentary History of the State of Maine, vii. 61-62. In a letter written to Mason on March 18, 1631, Gorges said:

As for the ptie you write of that hath lived wth the Dutch soe longe time I wishe yo^e would not omitt to keepe him on reasonable condicions untill my coming vpp [to London], in the meane while that you will informe your selfe of the strength they haue where they lue, how fortified, & puided for, how farr vpp, into the Maine they bee, What ether Commodity they finde besides their Trade of furra, what Cattle, what Horses, and what carriages they make vse of wth what people they hold Correspondancy wth all, and what Enemyes they haue, and in what parts of the Country ther Enemyes, or freinds are (Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine, Prince Society, iii. 254).

In the index to that volume "the Maine," which of course means mainland, is entered under "Maine," as if it referred to the Province of Maine.

³ Capt. John Mason (Prince Society), p. 174.

⁴ Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine (Prince Society), i. 124 etc.

this connection, that I expect to show, in my life of Captain John Mason, soon to go to press, that this Spanish Infanta was designedly complimented about this time in the naming of a district in New England, granted by the great council, a curious fact, overlooked by historians."¹ Mr. Tuttle died in 1881, and his Capt. John Mason, edited by John W. Dean, was not published by the Prince Society until 1887. Unfortunately the notes which Mr. Tuttle had prepared on this point were not preserved, or at least are not incorporated in the printed work, and so the proofs he promised in 1872 are not forthcoming. Nor does Mr. Baxter offer proof.

I would call attention to another "curious fact, overlooked by historians" — namely, that so far as the name Mariana is concerned it might have been derived from Henrietta Maria equally well as from the Infanta Maria. Indeed, Mariana was the name proposed for Maryland by Charles himself. The story is thus told by Scharf:

Lord Baltimore, it is said, drew up the charter with his own hand and left a blank in it for the name "which he designed should be *Crescentia*, or, the land of Crescence, but leaving it to his majesty to insert." "The King, before he signed the charter, put the question to his Lordship, what he should call it, who replied that he desired to have it called something in honor of his majesty's name, but that he was deprived of that happiness, there being already a province in those parts called Carolina."² "Let us, therefore," says the King, "give it a name in honor of the Queen; what think you of *Mariana*!" To this his lordship expressed his dissent, it being the name of a Jesuit, who had written against monarchy.³ Whereupon the King proposed *Terra Maria*, in English, Maryland, which was concluded on and inserted in the bill.⁴ And thus the proposed colony was named in honor of Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV., king of France and Navarre, and sister of Louis XIII., who was usually called Queen Mary by writers of the day. Thus Land writes in his *Diary* (p. 6); "An. 1625, June 12, Queen Mary crossing the sea, landed upon our shores about seven o'clock in the evening." Similar instances are to be found in Fuller's *Church History*.⁵

Secretary Conway in a letter dated November 22, 1624, and King Charles in a letter dated May 1, 1625, speak of the Princess as "Lady Marie."⁶ "The queen of Charles I.," writes Miss Strickland, "is known to all readers of history by the name of Henrietta Maria; but she was not called so by her husband or at her own court. The king chose to call her Mary; and when those in his household remonstrated with him that this name, owing to the Marian persecutions, had become very unpopular to English ears, he still persisted in calling his bride 'Mary,' declaring that the land should find blessings connected with her name which would counteract all previous evils."⁷

¹ Boston Transcript, June 8, 1872, p. 6/4; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxix. 244.

² This is an allusion to the grant to Sir Robert Heath on October 30, 1629, of Carolana (or Carolina). No settlements were made under it.

³ Juan de Mariana (1536-1623).

⁴ Scharf gives as his authorities manuscripts in the British Museum.

⁵ History of Maryland, i. 51-52.

⁶ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1623-1625, p. 387; *ibid.* 1625-1626, p. 16.

⁷ Lives of the Queens of England, viii. 33.

According to Mr. Tuttle, "in the spring or summer of 1621, Mason returned into England;"¹ and he obtained his grant of Mariana on March 9, 1621-22. Mr. Baxter may be right in saying that the proposed marriage of the Infanta Maria with Prince Charles "was then the principal topic of discussion;" though there is little about it until somewhat later in the letters and documents printed in Ellis's Original Letters, in Birch's Court and Times of James the First, and in the Calendars of State Papers, Domestic, 1619-1623.

It is not in the least my purpose to throw doubt upon the explanation proposed by Mr. Tuttle and Mr. Baxter, but merely to show that the matter is not quite so simple as it seems.

Mr. HORACE E. WARE read the following paper:

A FORGOTTEN PRIME MERIDIAN.

The "Almanack for the Year of our Lord 1647. . . . By Samuel Danforth of Harvard Colledge, Philomathemat," Cambridge, the second earliest American almanac extant, states on its title-page that it is "Calculated for the Longitude of 315 degr. and Elevation of the Pole Arctick 42 degr. & 30 min. & may generally serve for the most part of New-England."²

While I have not made exhaustive research, I have examined several Massachusetts almanacs subsequent to that of 1647 and well into the eighteenth century with regard to the longitudes on their title-pages, and will give a brief account of their ways of stating the same, assuming that the longitude intended is that of Boston where no place is named.

In the different numbers up to the year 1680 the longitude continues to be stated as 315°. Beginning in 1680 there are statements sometimes that the almanac is for the longitude of Boston, one or more times that it is for that of 315°, sometimes both statements are combined, and in at least two cases, 1684 and 1690, the longitude of 315° is given as that of Cambridge. The Almanac for 1716 by D. Travis is the last one, so far as I have found, to give the longitude of 315°, either by itself or with the statement that it is the longitude of Boston. The Almanack for 1694, probably by William Brattle and printed by B. Green for Samuel Phillips, is for the meridian of Boston, 69° 20' to the westward of London. This is the first almanac I have seen to make the longitude from London.

¹ Capt. John Mason (Prince Society), p. 14.

² A facsimile of the title-page of this almanac is given in the Church Catalogue, iii. 1113.

From 1695 to 1705 inclusive the longitude when given is simply stated to be that of Boston. In the *Kalendarium Nov-Anglicanum* or *Almanack* for 1706 by Samuel Clough, Boston is coupled with the longitude of 315° . An *Ephemeris* of the Celestial Motions for 1709 by Edward Holyoke, M. A., is the first to give the meridian of Boston as 71° west of London. In the almanac by D. Travis for 1709 Boston's meridian is said to be $3^{\circ} 15'$ which is probably a mistake for 315° . From 1710 to 1714 inclusive the almanacs examined so far as they refer to longitude name the meridian of Boston simply, except Thomas Robie's *Ephemeris*, etc., for 1710, which gives Boston's meridian as about 71° westward from London. E. Holyoke's almanac for 1715 makes the longitude 289° from London, which is the same as 71° west. The longitude in certain of the almanacs for the following years respectively is: for 1716 (Robie's) about 71° ; for 1717 about 71° , and in another almanac 69° ; for 1718, 70° , and in another about 71° ; in N. Whittemore's almanac, from 1720 to 1727 inclusive, 71° .

In an almanac for the year 1721 it is stated that the meridian of Boston is 4 hours 44 minutes west of London. Remembering that a difference of 15° in longitude makes a difference of one hour in time, we see that the above is in effect a statement that Boston is 71° west of London. In an almanac for the year 1723 and in one for the year 1724, the longitude of Boston is placed at 289° from London.

In the *New England Diary: Or, Almanack For the Year of our Lord Christ, 1735, By a Native of New-England* (Nathan Bowen), the meridian is given as 4 hours 44 minutes west of London. A facsimile of the title-page of this almanac accompanies Mr. Henry W. Cunningham's editorial comments¹ on the *Diary of the Rev. Samuel Checkley, 1735*, recently read before this Society.²

¹ See pp. 270-306, above.

² Between 1725 and 1776 inclusive there are in addition to the specimens in the text almanacs for the several years named giving longitudes as follows: 1725, 4 h. 44 min.; 1726, 4 h. 44 min.; 1728, 70° or 4 h. 44 min.; 1729, 72° , in another 289° ; 1730, also 1731, 4 h. 44 min.; 1732, 289° ; 1733, 4 h. 25 min.; 1737, about 71° ; 1738, 71° ; 1740, 69° ; 1743, $69^{\circ} 27'$; 1744, $69^{\circ} 15'$; 1750, about 4 h. 40 min.; 1751, 4 h. 45 min.; 1753, 69° .

In the *New England Almanack, or Lady's and Gentlemen's Diary for 1769*, by Benjamin West, the meridian is 4 h. 40 min. west from the Royal Observa-

I will ask you to recall that the Royal Observatory at Greenwich had its beginning in the year 1675; also that the first volume of the British Nautical Almanac, that for the year 1767, was published in 1766. The calculations in this almanac were made according to apparent time for the meridian of Greenwich. We may assume, I think, that soon after 1767 the meridian of Greenwich was considered the prime meridian throughout Great Britain and her colonies.

It will now be in order to discover the place or prime meridian from which the longitude of Boston was reckoned to be 315° , and the reason or reasons why such place or meridian came to be fixed upon.

John Josselyn in the account of his second voyage to New England (1663-1671) states that the longitude of Boston is 315° "or as others will" $322^{\circ} 30'$.¹ Later on he tells us how longitude is reckoned: "The longitude of places are uncertainly reported, but in latitudes most agree. Longitude is the distance of the meridian of any place from the meridian which passeth over the Isles of Azores, where the beginning of longitude is said to be."² As we reckon to-day the Azores extend from about 25° to $31^{\circ} 20'$ longitude west of Greenwich, so Josselyn does not locate the prime meridian very exactly. The longitude of Boston is in round numbers 71° west of Greenwich.³ Subtracting 71 from 360 would make Boston in longitude 289° from Greenwich, going round the globe towards the east, as was done in Josselyn's time. Subtracting 289° from 315° leaves 26° . Going west 26° from Greenwich, so as to bring the 289° up to 315° , we find that the meridian of 26° west is about 8' west of the westerly end of the island of St. Michael of the Azores.⁴ In reaching this result I assume of course that the relative positions of London (Greenwich), St. Michael's and Boston as regards longitude were in the middle of the seventeenth century

tory at Greenwich. This language tends to indicate that the maker had knowledge of the British Nautical Almanac first published in 1766, as stated in the text. From 1725 to 1776 the almanacs stating the longitude to be that of Boston without addition appear to be in a large majority.

¹ Account of Two Voyages to New England made during the Years 1663, 1663, Boston (1865), p. 124.

² Ibid. p. 157.

³ The Massachusetts Town Boundary Survey makes the State House to be in longitude $71^{\circ} 03' 51.040''$ (Atlas, Boston and Brookline, 1902).

⁴ I take the longitude of St. Michael's from the map of that island in Walter Frederick Walker's *The Azores*, London, 1886, opposite p. 46.

estimated in round numbers to be close to what we make them today. The result of the above figuring bringing the beginning of longitude so close to St. Michael's, I think we are justified in concluding that the prime meridian was, at the period to which we refer, considered by the people here in New England as passing somewhere through that island. We are sustained in this conclusion by certain citations which follow.

I have seen no statement other than that of Josselyn hereinbefore referred to that the longitude of Boston was held by some to be $322^{\circ} 30'$. That longitude would of course bring the prime meridian $7^{\circ} 30'$ further west than the longitude of 315° , viz. — 26° plus $7^{\circ} 30' = 33^{\circ} 30'$ west of Greenwich, which would be something more than two degrees west of Corvo and Flores, the most westerly islands of the Azores. For the position of a prime meridian through these islands also, some authorities will be referred to later.

One may well be desirous of knowing why a large number of people should reckon longitude from a meridian passing through the island of St. Michael. In explanation I would call attention to the chapter or article entitled, *The First Booke of the Seamans Secrets*, written by the skilful navigator John Davis (1550–1605), the second edition of which, published in 1607, is reprinted in the edition of his works by Albert Hastings Markham published in 1880. I quote from this book, including in the quotation one of the editor's footnotes as being material to the subject under discussion:

Longitude is that portion of the Equator contained betweene the Meridian of S. Michels, one of the Assores, and the Meridian of the place whose longitude is desired: the reason why the accompt of longitude doth begin at this Ile, is, because that there the Compasse hath no variety, for the Meridian of this Ile passeth by the Poles of the world and the poles of the Magnet, being a Meridian proper to both Poles.¹

¹ From the time of Ptolemy the meridian of the Fortunate Isles, as being furthest to the west, was adopted as the first, and the meridian of Ferro, the westernmost of the Canaries, was universally used until the time of Elizabeth. Cosmographers then adopted St. Michael's, in the Azores, on the ground that the compass there had no variation. After the establishment of the observatory in 1676, the Greenwich meridian was adopted by the English.¹

¹ *Voyages and Works of John Davis, the Navigator*, Hakluyt Society, London, p. 284.

The meridian proper to the poles of the magnet, to which Davis refers, was of course the agonic line, now so called, the line of no magnetic declination, which at the time Davis wrote passed through or near to the Azores. It is the way of agonic lines to be irregularly curved and they would seldom, if ever, coincide with meridians for any considerable distance. Their changes of positions together with the changes of positions of their companions, the isogonic lines, or lines of equal magnetic declination, are involved in the secular variations and changes of the magnetic declination which have of late years been the subject of such earnest scientific investigation. The agonic line in question may be considered as the same, though in a somewhat different position, as that across which Columbus passed on his first voyage to America. His compasses had been pointing to the east of north, — such having been the declination in Europe at that epoch, — up to September 13, 1492. At the first of the evening on that day the needles varied to the northwest, and the next morning about as much in the same direction. Hence at some time not noted on September 13, they must have pointed in, or passed by, the direction of the true north. On September 17 it was observed that the needles varied to the northwest a whole point of the compass.¹ It has been calculated by Charles A. Schott, assistant in the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey Office, that at noon on September 13, Columbus was in latitude $28^{\circ} 21'$ and longitude $29^{\circ} 16'$,² which last is nearly half a degree west of Fayal on the map of the Azores given by Walker.³

A second point of no declination was found or ascertained by Sebastian Cabot in 1497 or 1498. On his map Cabot placed it on the meridian 110 miles west of Flores of the Azores, and Schott estimates its latitude as approximately 46° or 47° .⁴ In the Bulletin

¹ Personal Narrative of the First Voyage of Columbus to America, translated by Samuel Kettell, Boston (1827), pp. 18–19.

² Schott, Secular Variation in the Position of the Agonic Line of the North Atlantic and of America between the Epochs 1500 and 1900 A. D., in Bulletin No. 6, United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, June 7, 1888, p. 29 (being the first page of Bulletin) and footnotes.

³ Frontispiece to The Azores.

⁴ Schott, Bulletin No. 6, *ubi supra*, p. 29. See also Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America, iii. 41. On p. 40 of the last named volume a facsimile is given of Michael Locke's or Lok's map of 1582, whereon the meridian of 350° passes through the Azores, and the meridian of 360° passes between the Azores and the Madeiras.

[illegible]

May, 1941

*Secular Change in the position
of the North
between A.D. 1500*


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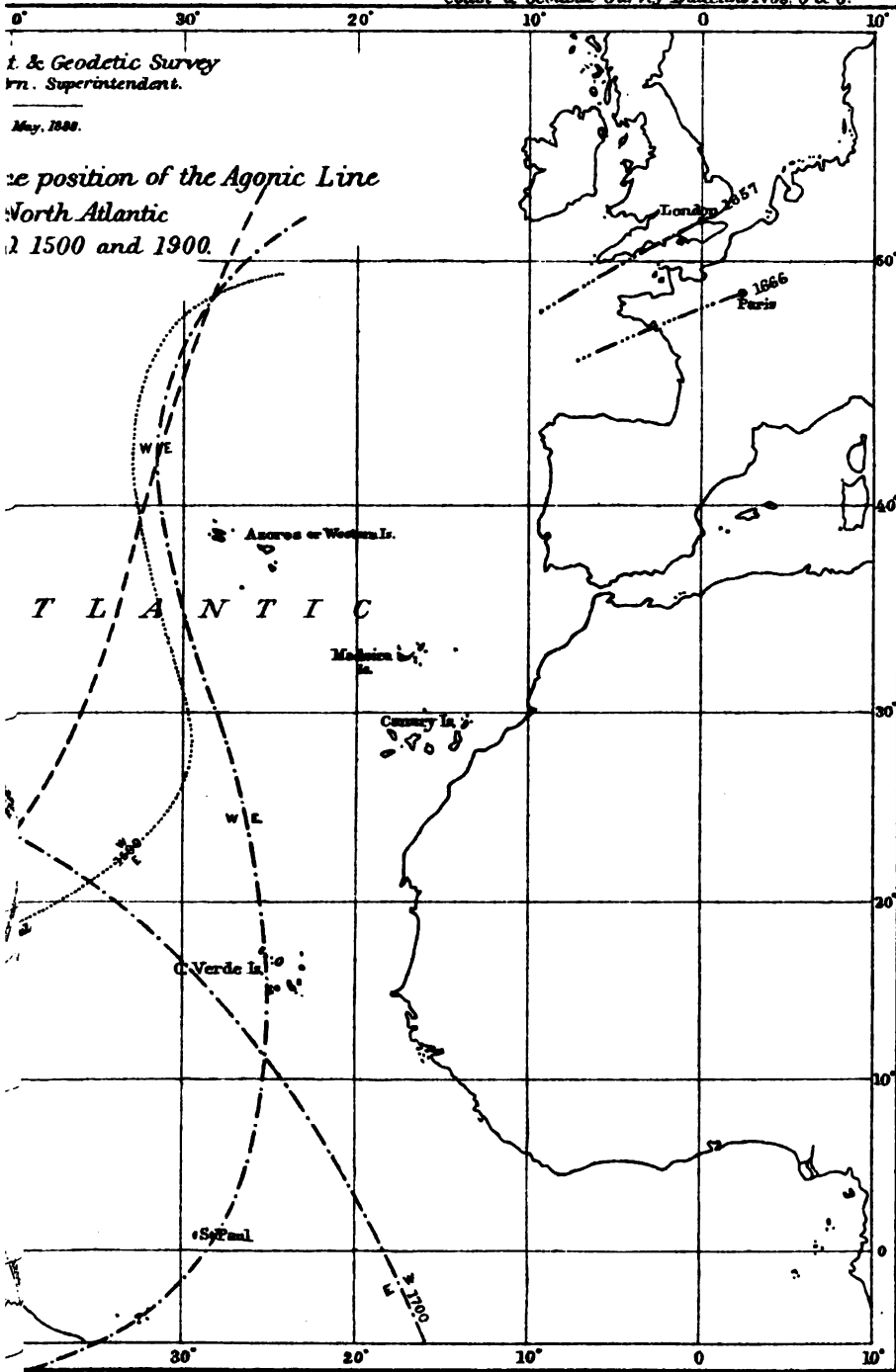


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Coast & Geodetic Survey
U.S. Superintendent.

May, 1888.

The position of the Agonic Line
in the North Atlantic
in 1500 and 1900.



cited above is contained Plate B entitled "Secular Change in the Position of the Agonic Line of the North Atlantic between A. D. 1500 and 1900," a reproduction of which accompanies this paper. The line on this plate for A. D. 1500, the author states, is little more than a conjecture, and depends mainly on the two points of no magnetic declination found by Columbus and Cabot as above. He also says that we have further reason to suppose that this agonic line passed somewhere north of London, and at its other extremity was some distance south of the Greater Antilles, as shown on the plate. Later I shall call your attention to the agonic line on the plate for "About 1630 ± 15 years," and to the near approach of that line to the Azores.

Another authority, slightly later than Davis, is found in Thomas Blundeville His Exercises, the first edition of which, "containing sixe Treatises," was published in 1594, and a "sixthe Edition corrected and augmented" and "Contayning eight Treatises" appeared in 1622. Under Treatise VI, "The Art of Navigation," and Chapter XXVI, "How to find out the variation of the Compasse in euery Latitude," the following passage occurs in the sixth edition, but does not appear in the edition of 1594:

But there be three causes which moue me to think, that the respectiue point [whereunto the needle of your Compasse will alwayes turn in what part of y^e world soeuer you saile] will never bee truly found out. First, for that the Meridian, which in these daies is supposed to bee the first Meridian passing through the Azores, & specially through the Iles St. Marie, and Saint Michael. Is not that Meridian vnder which the Mariners compasse doth rightly point, as well vnto the pole of the Loadstone, as also to the North Pole of the world, for though Francis of Deepe found it so by his Compasse, yet diuers learned Pylots since his time hauing sailed vnder y^e Meridian, haue found the variation of their compasse to be as much there, as else where, and not rightly to point to the respectiue point, which is supposed to be vpon the earth, and without such a certain Meridian, no true account from any Latitude can be made. The second cause which moueth me to think as before, is for that the Compasse in some place of the Sea, will be suddenly retrograde, which thing Master Bourough¹ by his own experience affirmeth to be

¹ A Discourse of the Variation of the Compass by William Bourough was published as an addition to Robert Norman's The New Attractive in 1581.

true, as is before set downe. The third cause is, for that I doe verily beleue, the finding out of the true place of the respectiue point, to be as great a secret in nature, as it is to know the cause why the Loadstone should haue such vertue to drawe steele vnto it, and to shew the North Pole of the world, which are two secret gifts giuen to that stone of God, for mans behoofe, and yet the cause thereof is not to be found but by man, though most carefully sought by the greatest Phylosophers that ever were (p. 689).

It is to be here observed that however Blundeville himself may have regarded the matter, he states that the meridian through St. Mary's and St. Michael's was at the time he wrote (before 1622) generally supposed to be the first meridian.¹

From Blundeville His Exercises, edition of 1594, mentioned above, I take the following, which is under "A plaine Treatise of the first principles of Cosmographie," and in Book II, Chapter VII, "Of the Longitude and Latitude of the Earth:"

Yet according to Ptolemie, that Meridian is saide to be first and furthest Westwarde which passeth through the Ilands called Insulæ Fortunatæ, for the West Indies were not knowne nor discovered in his dayes, nor yet long time after, since the discoverie whereof, the late Cosmographers of these dayes doe make the first Meridian to passe through the Ilands called Azores, which Ilands, as appeareth by their Cardes, are situated more Westwarde from the foresaid Insulæ fortunatæ by five degrees, the reason that mooueth them so to do, is because the Mariners Compasse, as they say, will never incline to the true North pole, but when they saile either by the Ile S. Mary or S. Michael, affirming that in euery other place the compasse doth varie from the true North, eyther by Northeasting or Northwesting (fol. 182).

On the Map of the World by Jodocus Hondius, 1611,² the meridian marked 360° passes through St. Michael's and St. Mary's of the Azores.

I would now call attention to the Epitome of the Art of Navigation, by James Atkinson, which was published in London in 1711. Under Section ii of Chapter VI, "The Description and Use of the Terrestrial

¹ St. Mary's, a smaller island than St. Michael's, lies about forty miles south from it, in the eastern group of the Azores.

² Facsimile, New York, 1907.

Globe," certain problems are given, among them one "to demand the Longitude of the Lizard, in England," to which the following note is appended:

The Globes formerly made in England begun Longitude at the Meridian of the Island of St. Michael, one of the Western or Azore Isles, which is West from the Meridian of London (according to the Mariner's Compass Rectified, and also the Mariner's Calendar) 23d. 36m. And accordingly the Lizard's Longitude is 5d. 14m. West from London: This Difference in the Longitude of Places, is occasioned by the different Beginnings of Longitude by several Authors, which the Student is desired to consider (p. 158).

The problem in this case was solved by subtracting the longitude of the Lizard, as found on the globe, from the longitude of London, the longitude of both places being taken from St. Michael's. It is evident that the object of the problem was to find the longitude of the Lizard reckoned from the meridian of London. The meridian of St. Michael's was giving place to that of London as a prime meridian.

From the foregoing citations we are justified in assuming that Boston's longitude of 315° was obtained by reckoning from the meridian of St. Michael's. But though that meridian was regarded as the prime meridian here in New England in the seventeenth century, and was perhaps so treated by the majority of English navigators, it was by no means distinguished as such by the navigators and cosmographers of other nations. From the time of Ptolemy until the time of the discovery of America, longitude appears to have been reckoned for the most part from the meridian of the Canaries, those islands being during most of that period the farthest known lands to the west. This will appear from statements in some of the extracts from early authorities which I have included in this paper. After the discovery of America and the crossing of the agonic line, various prime meridians were in use by different navigators and cosmographers. These meridians were taken for divers reasons, some, as in the case of that of St. Michael's, because they were supposed to coincide with the line of no magnetic declination, certain others because they crossed a national possession, while the meridian of the Canaries, or of Ferro the westernmost of them, still had its advocates by reason of its having been so long in use. The agonic line, being curved

as stated above, would in different latitudes be encountered in different longitudes, though it was supposed by many for quite a period that it continued along a meridian of longitude. To show the locations of some of these prime meridians I will make reference to certain of the books and maps of the period. I sometimes quote literally in this paper, the better to reproduce the mental processes and the nicer shades of thought with which the authors dealt with these important questions of facilitating the process of ascertaining longitude. We are, moreover, now and then entertained with some choice specimens of the quaint English of the period.

The following passage, though taken from Blundeville under Treatise IV, "The Description and Use of Plancius his Vniuersal Mappe, set forth in the yeare of our Lord, 1592," is there given as setting down "the opinion of Mercator" (1512-1594), who published his *Tabulae Geographicae* in 1578-1584. It will be noticed that several prime meridians are here referred to.

Francis of Diep, a most skilfull Pilot, doth witnesse that the needle of the Mariners compasse, doth turne directlie to the North Pole, being in the Ilands of Capo Verde, that is to say, the Ile of Sal, the Ile of Bona-uista, and the Ile of Mayo, whereunto those doe agree very nigh, which doe say that the needle doth the like in the Iles of Tercera and of S. Marie, which are part of the Flemmish Iles, otherwise called Azores: but some others doe affirme, that the needle sheweth the North pole best, being in the Ile of Corvo, which is the furthest Ile westward of the said Azores, and because the longitude of places by most liuely reasons, ought to take his beginning from the common Meridian of the world, and from the rocke or Pole of the Adamant stone, we here following the opinion of those that are most skilfull in this matter, have set downe the first Meridian betwixt the Iles of Capo Verde, and the Azores (fol. 264).

In the *Arcano del Mare* of Robert Dudley, Florence, 1646-1647, printed in Italian, the meridian of Pico of the Azores is given preference, as appears in the following passage (translated) taken from Book I, "On Longitude," Chapter VIII, "As it is founded on the Variation of the Needle:"

In sailing from the coast of Spain and Portugal toward the Azores Islands and Tercera, the needle of the compass will be found to turn to the northeast, and always decreasingly, but when there is no longer any

variation in the said needle, then the pilot may be sure that he is in the longitude of the island of Pico (p. 16).

In the maps in the Atlas of Nicolas Sanson d'Abbeville, Paris, 1656, longitude is reckoned from the meridian of Ferro of the Canaries.

In the map of the world in the North Star or Sea Atlas by Van Loon (Dutch), 1661, the meridian of 360° passes through the Canaries.

Andrew Wakely in his *Mariners Compass Rectified*,¹ published before 1694 — I am not sure of the exact time — used the meridian of London in making his tables.

In Peter Heylyn's *Cosmography*, fifth edition, London, 1677,² we find the following statements:

The AZORES are certain Islands . . . Situate betwixt the 38 and 40 degrees of Northern latitude; and one of them in the first Longitude; which is commonly reckoned from these Islands, as being the most Western part of the World, before the discovery of America (p. 236).

CORVO. . . . But this, though much smaller than the others, may in time be of more esteem than any of them, in regard it is conceived to be the most natural place for the first Meridian, . . . the Needle here pointing directly to the North, without Variation. Which whether it proceed from some secret inclination of the Load-stone to that part of the World, more in this place than any other; or that being situate between the two great Continents of Europe and America, it is drawn equally towards both, by the magnetical vertue of the Earth it self, I leave to be disputed by more able Judgments (p. 237).

In the map of America, however, at the beginning of Book IV, Part 2, the meridian of 360° runs just east of St. Michael's.

In the *Cartes de Géographie* of Pierre du Val, Paris, 1679, and in his *Géographie Universelle*, Paris, 1682, the meridian of 360° runs by the west end of Ferro of the Canaries.

In the Atlas Minor of Nicholas Visscher, Amsterdam, 1690 (?), the meridian of 360° passes through Teneriffe of the Canaries. In A

¹ By Andrew Wakely, Corrected and Enlarged by James Atkinson, London, 1716.

² The first edition was published in 1652.

New Sett of Maps by Edward Wells, D.D., 1698 or 1699, on maps of Europe, 0° meridian passes through London.

The New Sea Atlas, London, 1702, says: "Azores . . . situate between 37 and 40 degrees of North Latitude: from the Flores of Corvo (or some of these Islands) Geographers use to begin their Longitude, as being the most Western part of the World, before the discovery of America" (p. 3). In some of the maps in this atlas, longitude begins at the Lizard..

M. de L'Isle's Atlas, Amsterdam, 1710, puts the first meridian at the Island of Ferro, while meridian 350° passes through the west end of Terceira and through Pico, both of the Azores.

In the Atlas Minor of Carolus Allard, Amsterdam, 1710 (?), the meridian of 360° passes through the Madeiras.

The maps of Matthäus Seutter, Augsburg, 1720, make meridian 360° pass through Teneriffe of the Canaries.

From A New General Atlas, the maps of which "are all Engraven or Revised by M^r. Senex," London, 1721, I quote the following as being an excellent summary of the number of prime meridians then in use:

Though the Western Nations agree to fix it [the first meridian] in the West of our Continent, they don't agree on the Place where. Ptolemy, and the Ancients, fix'd it at one of the Fortunate Islands, now generally suppos'd to be the Canaries. Some of the Arabians follow'd him, and others plac'd it at Hercules's Pillars, or the Streights of Gibraltar. Some Moderns would fix it at the Tercera, others at the Isles of Cape Verd or Cape Verd it self, and some at the Pike of Teneriff, one of the Canaries. The Spaniards would have it at Toledo; the Portuguese at Lisbon; and, in short, every Nation may fix it at their own Capital if they please; but as Ptolemy has been follow'd by most, 'tis like so to continue, especially since Lewis XIII of France did, by the Advice of the ablest Mathematicians, publish an Order of April 23, 1634, that it should be fix'd by his Subjects at the Isle of Fero, the most westerly of the Canaries.

It is now become usual to count the Longitude westward as well as eastward from the Place where Geographers fix their first Meridian.

The Difference among 'em [the geographers] about fixing this Meridian has made great Confusion in their Maps, and occasion'd much difficulty in finding the Longitude of Places, . . . The only way to remedy this at present is, to give an account of the different Places where they fix their Meridians, and of their Distances from one another.

The Spaniards, since their Conquest of the West-Indies, place their first Meridian at Toledo; and from thence, contrary to all other Europeans, account their Longitude from East to West.

Bleau, the Dutch Geographer, and most of his Countrymen, place it at the Pike of Teneriff, one of the Canaries.

The French, as we have heard already, generally fix theirs at the Isle of Fero, and some of them at Paris.

Our English Geographers, as Camden, Speed, and others, fix it in the Azores Islands; some at the Isle of Corvo; and others, which is most follow'd, at the Isle of St. Michael's; and later ones place it at London (p. 6).

On the Map of the World in this atlas (Senex's) the meridian of London is marked 360, and longitude is reckoned eastward. On the Map of Europe, the meridian of London is marked 0, and longitude is reckoned both east and west from it. The other maps also appear to reckon from London in both directions.

In John Barrow's *Navigatio Britannica*, London, 1750, in Chapter VIII, "Of Navigation," pages 157-158, it is stated that the first meridian is variously placed by geographers, but that most of the English use that of London, and from this meridian longitude is reckoned both eastward and westward till it terminates in 180°, the opposite meridian.

From the Massachusetts almanacs of the period of Barrow's publication it would appear that their authors were among those making use of the longitude of London.

It will now be interesting to locate as nearly as we may the positions occupied by the agonic line, to which we have referred, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Fortunately some of the publications of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey will give us great assistance to this end. Besides its other work regarding terrestrial magnetism, that organization has made historical compilations on the subject of magnetic declinations throughout the earth and of their variations and changes during the last few centuries; for it is only by having data extending through a long period of time that the laws governing the mysterious workings of the earth's magnetism can be ascertained. Of the series of papers on this subject issued by the Survey I have already referred to Bulletin No. 6 dated June 7, 1888. I would now call your attention to United States

Magnetic Declination Tables and Isogonic Charts for 1902, etc., by L. A. Bauer, Chief of Division of Terrestrial Magnetism, second edition, referring especially to the division or chapter entitled "Principal Facts Relating to the Earth's Magnetism," pages 11 to 77 inclusive, as covering valuable historical material bearing upon the period we have in mind. I have reproduced the illustration on page 44 entitled "Fig. 8. — Comparison of the secular change curves of the magnetic declination at various stations in the Northern Hemisphere," and incorporate it herewith. By following down the curve on Figure 8, bearing the name of any place we may find the estimated east or west compass declination at that place at any time between the years 1500 and 1900. The curve marked "Fayal Island, Azores" is the one which chiefly concerns us. Regarding this curve the following statement is made in the text:

In the case of Fayal Island it will be noticed that prior to 1600 two curves, one in full and the other broken, are given; the broken curve represents a repetition of the same law which governed the secular change at this station between 1600 and present date, while the full curve has been drawn to harmonize with the observations back to the time of Columbus. It will be seen that there is a marked difference between the two curves for the date 1500 (pp. 43-44).

From this language I do not understand the author to mean that the full line prior to where the broken line parts from it in 1600 is incorrect, but only that its position is not so fully substantiated as it is after 1600. At any rate the curves show at least that for some seventy-five years previous to 1650 the declination on Fayal was not more than $2\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$; and that at a time shortly after 1650, viz. where the curve crosses the 0° line, there was no declination at Fayal; in other words, that the agonic line then passed through that island.

As one approaches an agonic line from either side, the magnetic declinations of the isogonic lines which are successively crossed become less and less up to the zero point of the agonic line. The island of St. Michael differing from Fayal only by about three degrees of longitude and slightly less than one degree of latitude, the magnetic declination of that island from, say, 1570 to 1660 could have differed only slightly from that of Fayal, or from that of Pico, which is very close to Fayal. In like manner the declina-

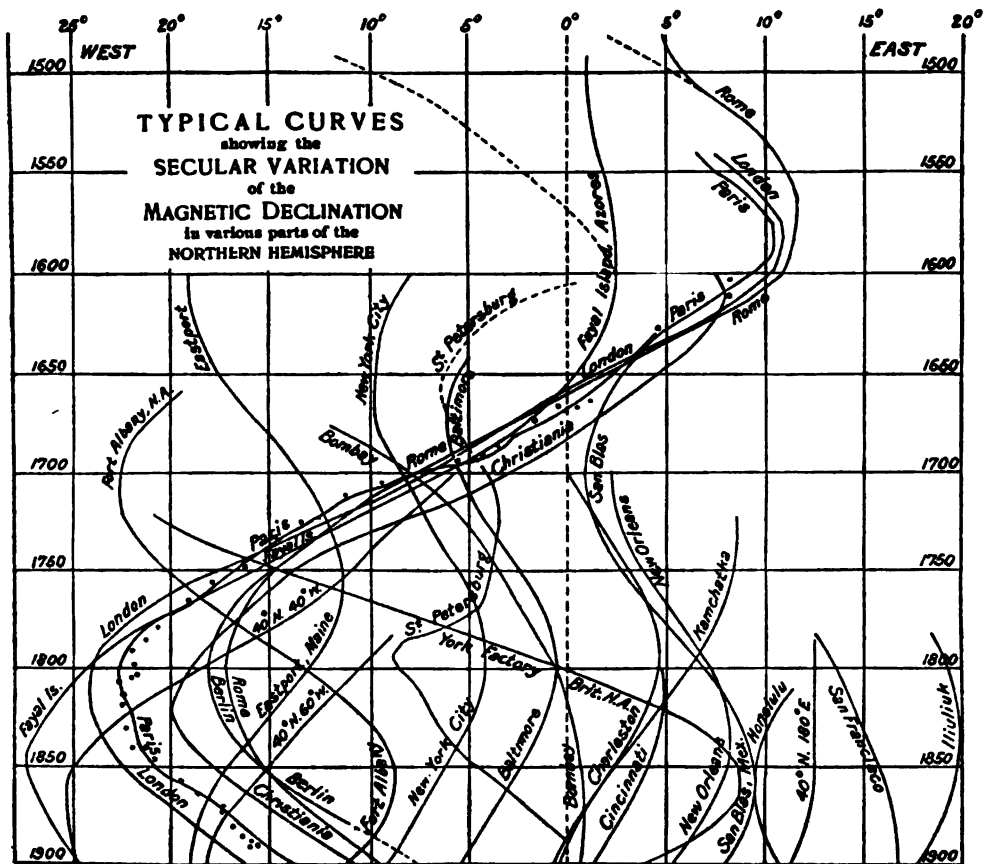


FIG. 8.—Comparison of the secular change curves of the magnetic declination at various stations in the Northern Hemisphere.

tion of Corvo, which is about two and a half degrees west of Fayal, could not have differed much from that of Fayal, or much even from the declination of St. Michael's. Mariner's compasses were not always adjusted in the same manner; in the case of such differences their respective needles would not point in strictly identical directions.¹ As a further consequence the compass needle of one navigator would point due north in one place and that of another in a different place.

It appearing then from Figure 8 and Plate B and the other authorities cited, that during the latter part and perhaps the whole of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century the agonic line in question ran near or through the Azores, we can well understand how one or more navigators or cosmographers came to select the meridian of Pico for instance as an initial meridian, and certain others that of St. Michael's.

It will be noticed that on said Plate B there are given agonic lines for 1700, 1800, etc. In the text of Bulletin No. 6 the author says:

We may remark that the change between 1600 or 1630 and 1700 should not be conceived as having been produced by a great sweep of the northern portion of the agonic curve across Europe and Africa, but rather as a gradual breaking through of the narrow neck of *east* declination in the vicinity of Cape Verde islands, and thus readily uniting with the previously existing southern branch of the agonic line, which, in 1600, skirted the southwestern coast of Africa. The isolated patch of east declination thus produced apparently drifted off to the eastward and northward (p. 33).

¹ In this connection I quote from Bauer's United States Magnetic Tables, etc., pp. 27, 28. The author, after stating that the purpose of Table I on p. 28 represents an attempt to collect the values of the magnetic declination up to the year 1600, inclusive, etc., goes on to say:

The values obtained with sea compasses require careful scrutiny, as these compasses were frequently shifted to allow for the supposed variation or "error" of the needle. Thus, Robert Norman, instrument maker, in 1581, says: "Of the common Sayling Compasses, I find heere (in Europe) five sundry sortes or sets"—according to the amount of correction allowed for by different makers. Thus, "by the Isle of Saint Michaell in the Acorres," he found "that the North poynt of the common compass, sheweth the Pole very neere in that *Meridian*, but the bare Needle sheweth about 4 Degrees 50 Minutes to the Eastwards of the Pole."

It was not until the close of the sixteenth century that the "variation from the true north" came to be generally accepted as an actual fact of nature and not one to be accredited to the imperfection of the construction of the compass.

By referring again to Figure 8 it will be observed that the curve of London crosses the line of no variation soon after the year 1650. In the text of the Magnetic Declination Tables for 1902 (page 41), the author states that about 1658 the needle at that place stood truly north and south, whereas about 1580 it was at a maximum of 11° or $11\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ E. And in Table II, "Showing the secular change in the magnetic declination at various places," on the same page it appears that in 1660 the declination at London was $0^{\circ}.59$ W. and at Paris $0^{\circ}.86$ E. Again consulting Figure 8 it appears that after, say, 1653, the west declination at Fayal rapidly increased until by 1750 it had reached about 15 degrees. From the above it appears that by 1660 the agonic line had lost its characteristic of running in a direction nearly north and south, and was also drifting away from Fayal and the Azores. The reason, therefore, why longitude should begin at St. Michael's, given by John Davis and by other writers, no longer existed. But books, including almanacs, globes, and maps, had been published giving the meridian of St. Michael's as the prime meridian or reckoning the longitude of places therefrom and many navigators had become used to that meridian; and there would be no reason for changing unless a decided advantage in having a new prime meridian should become apparent. The existing way of reckoning longitude continued, I infer, until towards the close of the seventeenth century. At that period, as we have seen, the longitude or meridian of London (which I understand to have been the same as that of Greenwich) appears more or less in evidence as the prime meridian. The use of this as the initial meridian kept on increasing, I assume, until it became fixed and established for Britain and her colonies by the publication of successive numbers of the Nautical Almanac, which began in 1766, as I have before stated.

I have spoken of the changes of the compass declination and of the changes in the position of the agonic lines. It is stated by Charles A. Schott that the first writer who clearly asserted the existence of a change in the declination with time was Henry Gellibrand (1597-1636) of Gresham College, England. In 1635 he published his work entitled *A Discourse Mathematicall on the Variation of the Magneticall Needle*, together with its admirable Diminution lately discovered. Previous to the announcement of his discovery it was the general

belief that the declination at any one place was *invariable*. Now, however, the fact of the secular variation became completely established, and it remained to later times to determine its extent and develop the law governing this change, and to endeavor to find its cause.¹

In Bulletin No. 5 (page 25), referred to in footnote 1, Schott states that among the methods of finding the longitude at sea, the author of the *Arcano del Mare*² brings forward, as others had done before him, one that depends on the observed changes of the magnetic declination. And on page 26 of Bulletin No. 5 he has a footnote which has such a direct bearing upon the matters herein treated that I quote it in full:

The adoption of one of the islands of the Azores for the location of the initial meridian in counting longitudes is said to have come about through the circumstance that at the time of adoption the variation of the compass-needle was zero or nearly zero at those islands, but for positions to the eastward the variation was easterly and increasing with distance from them, and for positions to the westward the variation was westerly and increasing. The temporary selection of this initial meridian is thus connected with the great problem of determining longitude at sea by the aid of the direction of the horizontal magnetic needle.

The only uniformly continuous and accurate way of ascertaining longitude at sea is, of course, through the exact measurements of intervals of time. But there was no means by which navigators could do this prior to the perfecting by John Harrison of his marine time keepers in or about the year 1761.³ At the period in mind, however, approximate compass declinations at divers positions of ascertained latitude and longitude on the Atlantic had become known, and the observation of the changes from one declination to another during the progress of a voyage must have been of assistance in estimating longitude.⁴

¹ Schott, United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, Bulletin No. 5, *The Value of the Arcano del Mare with reference to our knowledge of the Magnetic Declination in the earlier part of the seventeenth century*, June 7, 1888, p. 26. Schott, United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, Appendix No. 7, *Report for 1888, Secular Variation of the Magnetic Declination in the United States and at some foreign stations*, seventh edition, June, 1889, p. 182.

² Vol. i. chaps. viii, x.

³ See my paper on Winthrop's Course across the Atlantic, p. 192, above.

⁴ See p. 198 and note 1, above.

In connection with what has gone before I ask a moment's attention to the paper on Winthrop's Course across the Atlantic before referred to, and to the sketch accompanying it. It is there stated that the purpose of Winthrop's navigators appears to have been to reach a position directly north of the Azores at or near the parallel of $43^{\circ} 15'$ and then to run down that parallel and sight Cape Sable. Winthrop in his Journal does not refer to a prime meridian through St. Michael's or other island of the Azores, but he says that on April 29 (1630) they were "near the meridian of the Terceras" and that on May 9 they were supposed to be a little west of Corvo.¹ These statements, together with the fact that they turned to due west at a point north of the Azores, may have a tendency to show that this westerly course began at or near what they considered the prime meridian, or at or near the place where their compasses showed no declination.

From the authorities cited it appears that in Massachusetts during a period of somewhat over sixty years after the landing at Plymouth longitude was reckoned from the so-called meridian of St. Michael's, and in the easterly direction only; that during this period and for the anterior period back to the time of Elizabeth, the same meridian was also made use of by most English navigators and geographers as a prime meridian; that the meridian of St. Michael's acquired this distinction because the agonic line had run close to it in a general north and south direction through several degrees of latitude for a good many years, and because by many the agonic line was supposed to coincide with it; that divers other prime meridians were in use during said period by the navigators and geographers of other nations; and that some of these prime meridians ran across other islands of the Azores, certain of them having been selected because, as in the case of the meridian of St. Michael's, the agonic line was supposed to coincide with them, and one or more, perhaps, because they were the meridians of the most westerly lands known for a substantial period before the discovery of America.

I submit the foregoing historical material and conclusions, believing that they are important to have in mind in the consideration or treatment of matters pertaining to navigation in the seventeenth century.

¹ See pp. 194-195, above.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES, the delegate appointed by the President to attend the inauguration of Mr. Abbott Lawrence Lowell as President of Harvard College on the sixth day of October last, made an oral report. He described the ceremonies in the College Yard in the presence of a vast concourse of the alumni and distinguished guests, the choral singing, the conferring of honorary degrees on thirty eminent scholars, the hospitality extended to the delegates and the ladies accompanying them, the meeting of the Harvard Alumni Association in Memorial Hall, the luncheon given by President and Mrs. Lowell, the evening concert by the Boston Symphony Orchestra, the spectacular students' celebration in the Stadium, the reception and afternoon tea at the new Medical School, and the dinner given by the Corporation at the Harvard Union in honor of the delegates. He also described the brilliant pageant on the morning of the inauguration when the more than two hundred delegates, in academic robes and hoods of many colors, marched in procession from Phillips Brooks House to the platform built in front of University Hall; and the equally brilliant scene on the following morning when the delegates, similarly attired, marched to Sanders Theatre to be formally presented to the newly-installed President. Mr. Edes called attention to the fact that among the delegates representing the principal universities, colleges, and learned societies of Europe and America, were seven of our own fellowship—President Arthur Twining Hadley of Yale, who, at the presentation in Sanders Theatre, spoke on behalf of the American delegates, Franklin Carter of Williams College, Waldo Lincoln, President of the American Antiquarian Society, Frederick Jackson Turner of the University of Wisconsin, Horace Davis of Leland Stanford, Jr., University, Henry Lefavour of Simmons College, and the delegate from this Society; and that our associates Dean William Wallace Fenn, Mr. Morris Hickey Morgan, and Mr.

William Coolidge Lane had prominent parts in the ceremonies attending the induction of Mr. Lowell to office. Mr. Edes also mentioned that at the dinner, with which the celebration closed, several pieces of the ancient College silver were on the President's table, including the "Great Salt," given in 1644 by Mr. Richard Harris of Cambridge; two large loving-cups, with covers, given early in the eighteenth century, — one by Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton, the other by Colonel William Browne of Salem; and a bowl, formerly owned by President Holyoke, given in 1903 by his descendant, Miss Charlotte Augusta Hedge.¹

Most of the learned bodies that were represented at the inauguration sent addresses of salutation. That presented from this Society was as follows:²

**To the
President and Fellows of Harvard College
The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
Sends Greeting**

Upon the momentous occasion of the inauguration of your distinguished scholar **Abbot Lawrence Lowell, LL.D.**, as the twenty-fourth President of Harvard College, we avail ourselves of the privilege of transmitting to you by our Associate **Henry Herbert Edes** our profound felicitations

¹ The great salt and the loving-cups are described and portrayed in the Curio for 1887 (New York, 1888), i. 20-22, and the loving-cups in the Catalogue of American Silver exhibited at the Museum of Fine Arts in 1906 (Boston, 1906), nos. 37, 64, pp. 45, 51, plates I, II, IV, V, VII. See also Publications of the Cambridge Historical Society, iii. 15.

² This address was written by President Lefavour and was engrossed on parchment, measuring 17 by 22 inches, by Mr. Frank Williamson Martin. It is illuminated in red and gold. The seal of the Society is pendant on a scarlet grosegrain ribbon.

To the
President and Fellows of Harvard College
The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
Sends Greeting

Upon the momentous occasion of the inauguration of your distinguished scholar **Abbott Lawrence Lowell, Ph.D.**, as the twenty-fourth President of Harvard College, we avail ourselves of the privilege of transmitting to you by our Associate

Henry Herbert Oakes our profound felicitations

We are confident that under the wise and able administration which is now beginning your venerable University will steadfastly continue to be an inspiration and guide to our youth in their pursuit of knowledge and a beacon and aid to humanity in its developing civilization

As our fathers found in the College set in their midst the source of their intellectual and spiritual life, so will the coming generations in this Commonwealth recognize an ever in-

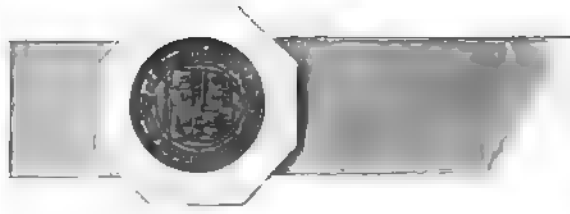
recognizing indebtedness to their greatest University for its continuous and unstinted service to mankind

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

Given at Boston, this sixth day of
October, in the year of Our Lord one
thousand nine hundred and nine

Henry Kefauver
President

Charles Edmund Park,
Corresponding Secretary



August 18, 1909

Attest: Henry Kefauver, President

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